University of Alberta

Keeping the Faith:
Quaker Community and Women in the Yonge Street Meeting, Upper Canada

By

Robynne Rogers Healey ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and
Research in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in

History

Department of History and Classics

Edmonton, Alberta

Fall 2001

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Robynne Healey

57 St. Vital Avenue
St. Albert, Alberta
T8N 1K7

September 7, 2001

University of Alberta

Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Keeping the Faith: Quaker Women and Community in the Yonge Street Meeting, Upper Canada" by Robynne Rogers Healey in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History.

David Mills
Dr. David Mills, co-supervisor

Dr. Jane Errington, co-supervisor

Lesley Cormack
Dr. Lesley Cormack

D Marshall
Dr. David Marshall

Susan L. Smith
Dr. Susan L. Smith

Frances Swyripa
Dr. Frances Swyripa

Dr. Earle Waugh

30 August 2001

Abstract

The Yonge Street Quaker community was established by Vermont Quaker Timothy Rogers in 1801. That frontier settlement, which grew to be the largest community of Friends in Upper Canada was an extension of the eighteenth-century Quaker retreat from mainstream society. Quakers who settled in the Yonge Street area established a community where they could live out the tenets of their faith relatively free from the laws of the larger society with which their testimonies often disagreed. Through the use of kinship, marriage, socialisation, and informal education this community became strong enough to withstand a number of challenges to its integrity. Yet, by mid century Yonge Street Friends had become integrated into mainstream society. This thesis examines the process of that integration and the evolving definitions of faith for the Yonge Street community.

By looking at two "generations" of the Yonge Street Friends community, I argue that faith was the primary factor of identity for this group of Quakers for at least the first two generations of the community. Although other factors of identity such as gender and class influenced faith, all members of the Quaker community defined themselves primarily by their faith. This community identity, like that of other communities in early Upper Canada, was exclusive. Between 1801 and 1837, however, this identity became less sectarian and more accommodating of diversity. The change was the result of a combination of religious conflicts and the increasing desire of a significant proportion of Friends not to be 'set apart' any longer. Even though the faith became more accommodating, the central tenets of the peace, equality, and simplicity remained. Quaker women played a primary role in keeping

the faith. Their role in that process must be placed in the context of the larger faith community where they freely lived out their faith. In this way it becomes apparent that the social activity of Quaker women was based on a fundamental understanding that men and women were spiritually equal and that both were responsible for shaping their community.

Acknowledgements

The work of getting this project to this stage has involved the assistance and support of many people. Thanks must go first to my supervisors, David Mills and Jane Errington, without whom this project would not have been possible. Both have offered a great deal of support, encouragement and have been very understanding of the many demands on my life. Their insights, constructive criticism, and insistence that this work be grounded in the larger context of Upper Canada have been invaluable. Years ago, as a master's student, when I took my first graduate course in Upper Canadian history from David, neither of us could have foreseen this work. I am grateful for his patience, his sense of historical humour, and his words of encouragement over the years. Jane's enthusiasm for this project right from the start has been invaluable. Her prompts for me to clarify my ideas and to get to the "so what" have helped immensely. At the same time she has cheerfully endured grueling long-distance phone calls late into the night, an indication of her dedication to the students she supports. Thanks must also go to the other members of my committee: Susan Smith, Frances Swyripa and Earle Waugh. Susan is completely responsible for my interest in the history of women; her ongoing advice and support throughout the years has been most helpful and very much appreciated. Frances has shown me how to push the boundaries of women's history and to think "outside the box." Because of Susan's changed appointment in the department, revisions to the composition of the committee were required. The willingness of Earle Waugh to be added to the committee at a late date is appreciated.

It would have been impossible for me to complete the research for this project without the funding provided by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Government of Alberta, and the University of Alberta in the form of doctoral fellowships, awards and travel grants. The Department of History and Classics has been especially generous with assistantships of various types.

The research assistance I received from those I contacted through the Canada Yearly Meeting Archives was unusual in its extent. Albert Schruawers provided me with his records from the Land Registry Index and answered numerous genealogical questions. Sandra Fuller called my attention to a number of points about the Yonge Street families and shared her own records on the James family. She has also answered numerous e-mail queries relating to the items housed in the Dorland Room. Moreover, she introduced me to a number of genealogists who were able to clarify some connections among the Yonge Street Friends. The "Sharon ladies": Anne Corkett and Ruth Mahoney gave me private tours of the temple and its surrounding buildings and have shared treasures they found in their own searches through the temple records. They have also provided wonderful memories of concerts, rhubarb punch on the temple grounds, and visits to some of the old Quaker homes around Newmarket. Chris Densmore, Curator of the Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore College, seems to know the location of almost every document produced by Quakers. He helped me to find some diaries not available at the Canadian Yearly Meeting Archives and he willingly shared his own wealth of information on Friends. My greatest debt of gratitude for assistance at the archives, however, must go to Jane Zavitz-Bond, volunteer archivist for the CYMA. Not only did she share her immense knowledge of the holdings in the archives with me and give me free access to the holdings of the Dorland Room and the vault, she opened her homes in Newmarket and St. Thomas to me. Although I am not a Quaker, Jane has consistently supported my interest in the history of Friends and has helped to clarify many details about the faith itself. Without a doubt, her life's work is an expression of her deep faith.

As much as this dissertation is about friends and family, my last, and deepest debt of gratitude, is to my friends and family who have supported me wholeheartedly for many years. My friends have offered a great deal of moral support through their words of encouragement. They have also offered tangible support by helping with our children, packing and moving us (twice this past year!), and serving as a sounding board for ideas and frustrations. My parents, Bob and Eyla Rogers, and siblings, especially my sister Fiona Rogers Kumar, have also been unwavering in their support and have offered an incredible amount of assistance with childcare and other general household tasks over the years. For my four children—David, Raechel, Bryden and Kate-Lynne—this project has defined their lives as much as it has mine. Two of them cannot even remember life BGS (before grad school). They have been patient and have tried, as best they can, to provide a quiet working environment. For patience, however, the award and my greatest thanks must go to my husband, Garth. In my numerous absences he has willingly assumed full responsibility for the care of our children and numerous pets. More than that, he has been a vocal cheerleader, a solid partner, and my best friend.

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Introduction

Family, Friends, and Neighbours:
Quaker Community in the Context of Upper Canada

In the spring of 1801, when Timothy Rogers arrived in Upper Canada with twenty Quaker families from Vermont to begin a settlement on Yonge Street, he envisioned the unification of Upper Canadian Quakers and the establishment of a stable, thriving faith community based on the fundamental Quaker principles of peace, equality and simplicity. Immediately, his settlers were followed by a similar number of Quaker families from Pennsylvania led by Samuel Lundy. Together, these members of the Society of Friends joined forces to create a strong faith community in the backwoods of Upper Canada. This settlement of Friends, as Quakers were also known, did not attract a great deal of attention. It was well-removed from other settlements and Quakers were not a troublesome bunch. The colonial government was pleased to have them along Yonge Street. They were an industrious lot and diligently fulfilled their settlement duties. As plain folk they kept to themselves; in fact, they purposefully set themselves apart from the general population. They were proud to be a "peculiar people." As part of the entire population of Upper Canada, the Quakers were never very numerous. Even at the height of their recorded membership in the 1820s, their numbers did not exceed 2, 500.[1] Yet, Quakers in Upper Canada exerted an influence that far exceeded that suggested by their numbers.

This study examines one community of Quakers in Upper Canada—the Yonge Street Friends.[2] It seeks to understand how Quakers, especially Quaker women, were able to have such an influence, given their relatively small membership and their original commitment to peculiarity and separation from the corrupting influences of the world. Within a larger society that imposed structure from the top-down, this was one of the groups at the bottom of the social hierarchy. The Yonge Street Quaker settlements, like many other small communities in Upper Canada, were an important part of the construction of Upper Canadian society from the bottom-up. It was the negotiation of the interaction between the two forces that gave Upper Canada its social and political form. The establishment of Quaker communities mirrored that process. Structure was imposed by the superior meetings, but that framework was interpreted within each local meeting. Individual personalities and events in the local meetings could have a significant impact on the faith community. In the same way, individuals and events in local Upper Canadian communities could have a meaningful influence on the larger society. In order to realise that influence, we need to understand the local community.

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[1] Arthur G. Dorland, *The Quakers in Canada: A History* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1968), 133.

[2] The Yonge Street Friends are those Quakers who belonged to the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting. This meeting included preparative meetings in the townships of King (Yonge Street), East Gwillimbury (Queen

This work focuses primarily on the first two generations of the Yonge Street Friends community.[3] The first generation was short. It began with the arrival of Friends in 1801 and ended in 1814 with the separation of the Children of Peace and the conclusion of the War of 1812. During this generation, Yonge Street Quakers were able to build a strong faith community on the same foundation used by other Quaker communities. The Society's Book of Discipline provided a blueprint for community development. It furnished the frontier settlement with rules for specific behaviour and

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Street), Whitchurch, Uxbridge, Pickering, Tecumseh, Schomberg, and Grey County. I deal with the first five meetings because they were formed prior to the Hicksite/Orthodox schism of 1828. The Yonge Street Quakers were part of the larger Quaker community in Upper Canada. There were three main areas where Quakers founded settlements: at Pelham, near Niagara; at Adolphustown, near Kingston; and on Yonge Street, approximately thirty miles north of York, now Toronto.

community interaction. Ties of marriage and kinship as well as informal education reinforced the distinct testimonies of the Discipline and created a stable, growing community. Women were key in all of these areas, working to shape their local and extended faith community and socialising children in the tenets of the faith. The Quakers remained insulated from mainstream society through the first generation largely because of these factors plus the relative isolation of the community on the northern reaches of Yonge Street. Although there were some instances of conflict with the larger society, they were individual, not group-based. More important in the first generation were problems internal to the community. Two settlements were started at a considerable distance from the central meeting at Yonge Street. Settlers at Uxbridge and Pickering were between twenty to forty miles away from the Yonge Street settlement. That distance through the forests of Upper Canada complicated meeting attendance and the implementation of the Discipline. In addition, a group of Friends, most of whom came from one of the preparative meetings just east of Yonge Street, separated themselves from the Yonge Street meeting in 1812. Under the leadership of David Willson this localised group began a breakaway sect known as the Children of Peace.

The second generation began in 1814 and ended with the Rebellion of 1837. The involvement of Friends in the Rebellion demonstrates that what had once been an isolated and insulated group was beoming integrated into Upper Canadian society. At the beginning of this generation, Yonge Street Quakers were able to bounce back from the trials they had experienced at the end of the first generation. Again they were able to use marriage, informal education and the Discipline to forge ahead with the growth of their

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[3] The generations of the community are distinct and clearly defined. This differs from a generational division of people which can be problematic because of the widely-varying ages of immigrants who arrived

insulated fellowship of Friends. The community grew and became more pluralistic as Quakers from a variety of locations migrated to the Yonge Street meeting. However, in the second generation a number of external forces began to impinge on the meeting; these were forces the faith community could not withstand. The increasing arrival of non-Quakers in areas of Quaker settlement, the decline in availability of affordable land, the Alien Question, and, most important, the advance of the Second Great Awakening and the revivalistic impact of Christian evangelicalism were all forces which chafed at the bonds of community. Some of these forces led to the Hicksite-Orthodox split in 1828. This schism was the result of doctrinal disputes complicated by issues of class and power in the superior North American meetings. It tore apart the North American Society of Friends and was devastating for Yonge Street Friends. The schism divided the community and pushed Quakers to seek affinity with others who shared their doctrinal sympathies. This began the integration of Friends into Upper Canadian society. It was hastened by the movement of Quaker children into the local common schools and the frustrations Quakers shared with their neighbours about inequality in Upper Canadian society and the partiality of the colonial administration to its friends and supporters. The era of this generation culminates with the Rebellion and attests to the movement of Friends into mainstream society, as many Quakers took up arms against the government and one of their leaders, Samuel Lount, was hanged.

The movement away from sectarianism expanded in the third generation which lasted until 1881 when Orthodox Friends in Canada experienced yet another separation. By the 1880s the majority of Quakers were increasingly indistinguishable from other evangelical Protestants in their appearance, their mode of worship, and their common

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about the same time.

social concerns. They moved freely from one group to another and were an important part of the Protestant consensus of late nineteenth century Ontario.[4] Yet, they maintained the fundamental principles of their faith. Although they shared similar doctrine, styles of worship, and an interest in the conversion of lost souls, Quakers who pressed for reform did so on the basis on their commitment to the principles of peace, equality and simplicity. Moreover, Quaker women's involvement in reform was based on their spiritual equality with men, not a claim to moral superiority over men, like that used in the other evangelical denominations. Therefore, while the Yonge Street Quakers were integrated into mainstream nineteenth-century Canadian society, they did not lose their faith.

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The attempt of the Society of Friends to live within mainstream society while maintaining their identity as a separate or "peculiar" people created an inherent paradox within the group. This paradox in itself makes the study of Friends, as part of mainstream history, a difficult prospect. As the study of a people apart, one must wonder whether the history of Quakerism, or the Society itself, is a parochial history destined only for the bookshelves of the Quaker faithful. Such a history of Friends is tangential to a larger narrative and has little meaning outside the boundaries of sect.[5] Yet, one must question how the history of Quakerism can be separated from its political, social and cultural contexts. These are issues that historians of Quakerism have addressed only relatively recently themselves. Larry Ingle's examination of the historiography of early Quakerism has pointed out that debates in the field have evolved so independently of mainstream histories of the period that "one can read the works of two of the main participants in the debate and hardly realize that two civil wars and a revolutionary upheaval formed a violent backdrop for the rise of Quakerism."[6] The nature of 'doing' Quaker history strikes at the heart of this particular project which attempts to incorporate Quakers into the context of Upper Canadian society.

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[4] John Webster Grant, *A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988).

[5] S.D. Clark's, *Church and Sect in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948) acknowledges the important role played by sects in early Canadian history. Although Clark's work has been criticised for its heavy reliance on the frontier thesis, Clark does provide an interesting analysis of the base of support of

Academic historians of Canada have accorded little interest to this rather small, drably dressed, unobtrusive group who were proud to call themselves God's peculiar people.[7] The primary focus of religious history in pre-Confederation Canada has been the

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the Anglicans and Methodists in the British North American colonies as well as a commentary on the success or failure of some of the sects.

[6] H. Larry Ingle, "From Mysticism to Radicalism: Recent Historiography of Quaker Beginnings," *Quaker History* 76, 2(Fall 1987): 79.

[7] Although numerous local historians and genealogists have undertaken examinations of the rich Quaker history in Upper Canada, the academic history of this group is extremely limited. The staple work is Arthur G. Dorland, *The Quakers in Canada: A History* (1927 rpt.; Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1968). Although first published in 1927, that work has since been reprinted and remains one of the few academic studies of Quakerism in Canada. Dorland's interest in the sect stemmed from his own membership in the Society of Friends. One of the few other academic works examining Upper Canadian Quakers is an unpublished discussion paper by Elizabeth Hovinen, "The Quakers of Yonge Street," (Discussion Paper No. 17, Department of Geography, York University, 1978). Written from a geographer's point of view, Hovinen's work does not explore the social and religious aspects of the community of Friends on Yonge Street. Most recently, Upper Canadian Friends have received mention in the much larger academic American literature on Quakerism: Hugh Barbour, et. al. eds, *Quaker Crosscurrents: Three Hundred Years of Friends in the New York Yearly Meetings* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1995). The flamboyant pageantry and impressive architectural structures of the Children of Peace have attracted the interest of anthropologists and material historians. W. John McIntyre's work, *The Children of Peace* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), examines the material culture of the Children of Peace in an attempt to discern the similarities and differences between the American-born Children of Peace and other nineteenth-century sects in the United States. Albert Schrauwer's work on the Children of Peace is probably the most complete. In addition to numerous articles, his monograph, *Awaiting the Millennium: The Children of Peace and the Village of Hope, 1812-1889* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), one of the most thorough examinations of the sect, argues that the schism stemmed from the defence of a rural way of life, dominated by a 'moral economy' which resisted the encroachment of capitalistic market relations. Although I disagree with Schrauwer's interpretation of class-based conflict as central to that schism, his painstaking work to reconstruct the Yonge Street community of Quakers has drawn attention to the importance of Quakers in the development of a colonial

events that led to the Protestant consensus that developed in the second half of the nineteenth century.[8] Most of this work concentrates on those religious debates which occurred along major denominational lines.[9] Yet, sectarianism was an important and valuable factor in the development of a more accommodative Upper Canadian identity.[10] Women featured prominently in eighteenth and nineteenth-century sects and played an important role in shaping their religious communities. This was especially so among Quakers.[11] Because of the active role women played in nineteenth-century religious life,

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society in Upper Canada. Gender, as a factor of analysis has recently been added to the examination of the Children of Peace in Kate Brannagh, "The Role of Women in the Children of Peace," *Ontario History* 90, 1(Spring 1998): 1-17.

[8] Curtis Fahey, *In His Name: The Anglican Experience in Upper Canada, 1790-1854* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1991); John Webster Grant, *A Profusion of Spires*; Neil Semple, *The Lord's Dominion: A History of Canadian Methodism* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996); William Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989).

[9] This is seen especially in *Two Worlds*, William Westfall's examination of the Protestant culture of nineteenth-century Ontario. Westfall argues that the movement towards religious consensus by 1870 was a result of the adjusted world views of both the Methodists, whose world view was dominated by their religion of experience, and the Anglicans, whose world view was dominated by their religion of order. Although Westfall's insightful work demonstrates the inseparability of religious and political culture in Upper Canada, his focus on only two groups, the Methodists and Anglicans, does not recognise the diversity of religious culture that existed in Upper Canada.

[10] For instance, Peter Brock's work on pacifism in Upper Canada demonstrates that accommodation between pacifist sect and secular state was another aspect of the political and religious culture in Upper Canada. Peter Brock, "Accounting for Difference: The Problem of Pacifism in Early Upper Canada," *Ontario History* 90, 1(1998): 19-30.

[11] The integral role that women played among Quakers is woven throughout the history of Friends. For works that deal specifically with women, see, for example Hugh Barbour, "Quaker Prophetesses and Mothers in Israel," in J. William Frost and John M. Moore eds., *Seeking the Light: Essays in Quaker History* (Wallingford and Haverford: Pendle Hill Publications, 1986), 41-60; Elisabeth Potts Brown and Susan Mosher Stuard, eds., *Witnesses for Change: Quaker Women over Three Centuries* (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1989); Nancy Hewitt, "Women's Rights and Roles," in Hugh Barbour et.al. eds., *Quaker Crosscurrents*, 165-182; Bonnelyn Young Kunze, *Margaret Fell and the Rise of Quakerism* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1994); Christine Levenduski, *Peculiar Power: A Quaker Woman Preacher in Eighteenth-Century America* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996); Lucille Salitan and Eve Lewis Perera, eds., *Virtuous Lives: Four Quaker Sisters Remember Family Life, Abolitionism and Women's Suffrage* (New York: Continuum, 1994); Peggy Brase Seigel, "Moral Champions and Public Pathfinders: Antebellum Quaker Women in Eastcentral Indiana," *Quaker History* 81, 2(1992): 87-106; and, Carol D. Spencer, "Evangelism, Feminism and Social Reform: The Quaker Woman Minister and the Holiness Revival," *Quaker History* 80, 1(1991): 24-48.

they have been the subject of numerous studies.[12] Little of this work focuses on the religious history of women in the first half of the nineteenth century. This is largely related to the reluctance of scholars of women's history to incorporate religion into English Canadian women's history unless it provides significance for the study of feminism or other social reforms, issues that were largely a product of the second half of the nineteenth century.[13] Rarely are the religious or faith motivations for women's religious activity considered. As Marguerite Van Die has commented, "[t]he language of evangelical piety has received little attention, and scholars have treated only tangentially their subjects' own professed strong belief in and commitment to a worldview which transcended time and space...."[14] In addition, very little work in English Canadian women's history goes beyond the denominational lines of mainstream Protestantism. By including an examination of sectarianism and examining the place of faith or religious beliefs in women's religious activities, we will be able to add a new dimension to our understanding of the religious culture in which women lived.

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[12] See, for instance, Ruth Compton Brouwer, *New Women for God: Canadian Presbyterian Women and India Missions, 1876-1914,* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990); Marta Danylewycz, *Taking the Veil: An Alternative to Marriage, Motherhood, and Spinsterhood in Quebec, 1840-1920* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart,1987); Rosemary Gagan, *A Sensitive Independence: Canadian Methodist Women Missionaries in Canada and the Orient, 1881-1925* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992); Lynne Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario* (Toronto: University or Toronto Press, 1996); Lynne Marks, "Christian Harmony: Family, Neighbours, and Community in Upper Canadian Church Discipline Records," in Franca Iacovetta and Wendy Mitchinson, eds., *On the Case: Explorations in Social History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 109-128; Wendy Mitchinson, "Canadian Women and Church Missionary Societies," *Atlantis* 2, #2, pt. 2(1977): 57-75; Elizabeth Gillian Muir, *Petticoats in the Pulpit: Early Nineteenth-Century Methodist Preachers in Upper Canada* (Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1991).

[13] Ruth Compton Brouwer, "Transcending the 'unacknowledged quarantine': Putting Religion into English-Canadian Women's History," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 27, 3(1992): 47-61.

[14] Marguerite Van Die, "'A Woman's Awakening': Evangelical Belief and Female Spirituality in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Canada," in Wendy Mitchinson et. al. eds., *Canadian Women: A Reader* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace, 1996), 52.

It has been shown that sectarian activism in the United States drew women into reform movements and formed the basis of their political feminism in the nineteenth century.[15] It was no different with Quaker women in Upper Canada.[16] Prominent individuals aside, historians of Canadian women have been unable to make a strong connection between Quaker women and suffrage.[17] I suggest that different approaches to the study of Quaker women in reform movements will yield more fruitful results in this area.[18] However, even if we never make this specific connection, we cannot discount the impact of Quaker women in local reform and their influence in shaping their own communities, based on their unique convictions. In the first half of the nineteenth century, Quaker women's reforming activities were a direct expression of their religious faith, not a precursor to feminism and women's rights. They were motivated by the way they interpreted their relationship with God and with their fellow human beings. In order to understand the influence of Quaker women on Canadian society, we need to have a clearer picture of their influence on their own religious community, where they freely lived out their faith.

Incorporating an examination of the Quaker faith community in the context of Upper Canada reveals the complexity of Upper Canadian society and the relationships that defined it. This was not a society simply constructed from the top-down, despite the most earnest efforts of the governing class in York and the ideologies they pushed in the press and pulpits of the colony.[19] Upper Canada was composed of distinct groups tossed together on the frontier. The society that developed in the colony was constructed through an intricate web of vertical and horizontal relationships.[20] This was a society far more complex than the sum of top-down or bottom-up interactions would indicate. It also developed along horizontal lines of interchange between groups at various levels of the social structure. The process of conflict and accommodation that came out of the social, political and cultural intercourse of various groups over approximately seventy years formed the basis of Upper Canadian identity. This identity was generally based on a Protestant consensus and an accommodative ideology of loyalty.[21] While this identity was not universal, by 1850 it was certainly more comprehensive than it had been in 1800. However, it did not represent the movement of more people into a narrow band of identity as much as it exemplified the broadening of identity to encompass more Upper Canadians. This was not a simple teleological course whereby one group became more accommodating of difference. Rather, this process demonstrates the movement from exclusivity to accommodation by a variety of groups.

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[15] See especially Nancy A. Hewitt, *Women's Activism and Social Change: Rochester, New York, 1822 – 1872* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1984). Part of Hewitt's work deals specifically with Quaker women who "combined the agrarian tradition of communalism and religious democracy to advocate for full racial and sexual equality." For a discussion of the activism of Quaker women specifically see Margaret Hope Bacon, *Mothers of Feminism: The Story of Quaker Women in America* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1986).

[16] Quaker women became involved in those areas of reform which were an extension of their religious principles: temperance, education, abolition (through assistance to the Underground Railroad), the condition of natives, peace, and women's rights.

[17] See, Cecilia Morgan, "Gender, Religion, and Rural Society: Quaker women in Norwich, Ontario, 1820-1880," *Ontario History* 82, 4(1990): 273-87. Emily Jennings Howard Stowe is the obvious exception. See, Joanne Emily Thompson, "The Influence of Dr. Emily Howard Stowe on the Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada," *Ontario History* 54, 4(1962): 253-66.

[18] These suggestions are discussed in the conclusion to this work.

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[19] A number of historians have examined the attempts of members of the provincial government and their families to establish the basis of admission into Upper Canadian society. See, for instance, Terry Cook, "John Beverly Robinson and the Conservative Blueprint for the Upper Canadian Community," in J.K. Johnson, ed. *Historical Essays on Upper Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975), 338-60. Sydney Wise's essays on the elite remain valuable for their assessment of the impact of the 'conservative tradition' and the Family Compact on the political culture of Upper Canada. They have been collected and reprinted in S.F. Wise, *God's Peculiar Peoples: Essays on Political Culture in Nineteenth Century Canada;* edited by A.B. McKillop and Paul Romney (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1993). Katherine McKenna's work on the Powell family is especially insightful in determining the role of elite women in the establishment of social status in York. See Katherine M.J. McKenna, *A Life of Propriety: Anne Murray Powell and her Family, 1755-1849* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994). The press and the pulpits of the province were the colonial authorities' favourite vehicles for promoting its views. Here they were free to justify specific constructs of behaviour that they equated with membership in Upper Canadian society. Invariably these discourses were gendered. Cecilia Morgan examines both the political and religious discourse in the early nineteenth century that gave rise to specific meanings of masculinity and femininity in Upper Canada. See Cecilia Morgan, *Public Men and Virtuous Women: The Gendered Languages of Religion and Politics in Upper Canada, 1791-1850* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996). However, as Jane Errington's work on women in Upper Canada has shown, the prescriptions of the elite were rarely congruent with the actual experiences of most women. See Elizabeth Jane Errington, *Wives and Mothers, Schoolmistresses and Scullery Maids: Working Women in Upper Canada, 1790-1840* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995).

[20] Upper Canada is unique from the other British North American colonies in that it was not colonised first by one specific cultural or religious group that was later joined by other settlers. Rather, following the Treaty of Paris in 1783 the British arranged for the purchase of large tracts of land from the Missassauga natives onto which they could settle exiled Loyalists, who were living in refugee camps in Quebec. The colonisation of Upper Canada was executed by a variety of distinct cultural groups under the strict guidance of the colonial government. The arrival of the late Loyalists in the 1790s further compounded the cultural pluralism of the colony.

This project argues that faith was the primary factor of identity for Yonge Street Friends for at least the first two generations of the community. It profoundly influenced other factors of identity within the community, including gender. Even after the second generation of the community, when the ties of the meeting had been broken by the Hicksite-Orthodox separation, faith remained central to the identity of Friends. However, the faith changed. It became less sectarian and more accommodating of diversity. Moreover, even though the Quaker faith community became fragmented, Friends kept the central convictions of the faith—peace, equality, and simplicity. It was these principles which were the driving force behind the influence of Friends on Canadian society.

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[21] For works on the Protestant consensus see footnote seven above. Lynne Marks's study of religion and identity in late-nineteenth century Ontario is a reminder that the Protestant consensus was not equated with Protestant orthodoxy. Evangelical groups like the Salvation Army, with their broad-based working class membership, challenged the social order of class divisions that were embedded in mainstream churches. Lynne Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks.* Two important works by David Mills and Jane Errington explore changes in the political culture of Upper Canada and challenge S. F. Wise's conclusion of a single conservative tradition dominated solely by anti-democratic and anti-American traditions. Although Mills and Errington disagree on the finer points of the ideological consensus that emerged by mid-century, they both conclude that by 1850 a more accommodative, pluralistic political ideology was predominant. See Jane Errington, *The Lion, the Eagle and Upper Canada: A Developing Colonial Ideology* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987) and David Mills, *The Idea of Loyalty in Upper Canada, 1784-1850* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988). Recently Carol Wilton has examined the role of petitioning movements in Upper Canada and has argued that the widespread use of petitioning was a key factor in the emergence of a province-wide political culture that was far more inclusive than the 'high politics' of the colonial elite. Carol Wilton, *Popular Politics and Political Culture in Upper Canada, 1800-1850* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000).

Because of the centrality of faith to the identity of Friends, this is not a traditional women's history. It examines Quaker women within the context of their faith community. The importance of the faith community meant that women applied their efforts to the creation and sustaining of a strong fellowship of Friends, both locally and in the extended transatlantic Society of Friends. Because their faith was so central to their identity, Quaker women were eager participants in the doctrinal disputes that fragmented the Society in the nineteenth century. As significant as women were, therefore, in building and sustaining the Quaker faith community, they were also crucial to its decline.

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Understanding how Quakers took their place in Upper Canadian society helps to demonstrate the role of difference in expanding the boundaries of Upper Canadian identity. Although Upper Canada's governing class was prepared to accommodate ethnic diversity in the society it wanted to create, it was only prepared to do so on the condition of social and ideological conformity to Tory ideals. However, diversity in the population as well as the political organisation of disparate groups pressed the elite's narrow vision. Yet, the pluralistic identity that developed in Upper Canada was negotiated in a society that was far more complex than the traditional dichotomies of British-American or Anglican-Methodist would indicate.[22]

A study of the Yonge Street Quakers could become yet another local history of yet another limited identity.[23] Understanding the place of Quakers in Upper Canadian society, however, necessarily requires an understanding of the Quaker community itself. This is a community that, by its very definition, was not equated with the geographic boundaries of Upper Canada. Friends who immigrated to Upper Canada after the American Revolution saw themselves as members of a large transatlantic Quaker community, whose membership spanned geographic and political borders. To separate Upper Canadian Quakers from that context is to impose artificial limits for the purpose of academic exercise. However, that being said, it must also be understood that Quakers living in Upper Canada were exposed to certain experiences unique from those of Friends in Philadelphia or London or even those on the New York frontier. It was these experiences which gave a local flavour to the Quaker community on Yonge Street, and remind us of the diversity of communities that existed not only in Upper Canada but within the Society of Friends as well.[24] Moreover, the broader and highly divisive

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[22] See, for instance, William Westfall, *Two Worlds* and S.F. Wise and Robert Craig Brown, *Canada Views the United States: Nineteenth-Century Political Attitudes* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1967. Jane Errington's, *The Lion, the Eagle, and Upper Canada* is one of the few works that suggests that Upper Canadian society was not polarised along British and American lines.

[23] The value of local or group histories has been a subject for debate in both American and Canadian history since academic historians took them over from genealogists and antiquarians as part of the new

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social history of the 1960s. The concern about local histories is their inability to address the larger questions important to a national history. Darrett Rutman's defence of local histories in colonial America notes that community studies are indeed more than a degeneration into particularism. Taken together they can provide general conclusions about social arrangements which cut across regional differences. Darrett B. Rutman, "Assessing the Little Communities of Early America," *William and Mary Quarterly* 43, 2(1986): 163-178. Interestingly, it was the crisis of national identity in Canada, in the wake of the centennial celebrations, that led Canadian historians to embrace this approach which was championed by J.M. S. Careless in "'Limited Identities' in Canada," *Canadian Historical Review* 50, 1 (1969): 1-10. The 'limited identities' philosophy was not created by Careless, who later argued that he was merely "reflecting views and currents manifestly at work…at the time." See J.M.S. Careless, "Limited Identities—Ten Year Later," *Manitoba History* (1980): 3. However, it changed the nature of Canadian history and was adopted by many Canadian historians who were eager to be "released from the burden of constantly performing as some kind of national sage." Carl Berger, *The Writing of Canadian History*, 2nd edition (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1977), 320.

[24] There are a number of works that examine the diversity of communities in Upper Canada. Those written in the heyday of local community studies in the United States examine geographic communities. Two of the most well-known works in this genre are David Gagan, *Hopeful Travellers: Families, Land and Social Change in Mid-Victorian Peel County, Canada West* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981) and Michael B. Katz, *The People of Hamilton West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1975). Because Upper Canadian communities were communities of immigrants, it became necessary to understand other factors of identity and community formation. This led to a number of studies which focus on ethnicity. Consider, for example, Donald Harman Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984); Bruce S. Elliott, *Irish Migrants in the Canadas: A New Approach* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988); Marianne McLean, *The People of Glengarry: Highlanders in Transition, 1745-1820* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University

questions of unity versus purity that plagued the Society of Friends since its inception were played out on the local stage.[25] Although leading Friends from both the United States and England were active visitors and tried to influence developments within the local community, Yonge Street Quakers ultimately made decisions about their community based on their own individual and collective experiences. Despite the efforts of the provincial leaders of Upper Canada or the leadership of the Society of Friends to achieve their ideal version of society, social relations between individuals and groups produced their own patterns of unity and fragmentation amidst diversity. Therefore, understanding Quakers in Upper Canada requires an awareness of the inter-relatedness of Quakers both in the transatlantic world and in the political, social and cultural contexts of

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Press, 1991); and, Catharine Anne Wilson, *A New Lease on Life: Landlords, Tenants, and Immigrants in Ireland and Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994).

Canadian historians are generally loathe to consider race as a category of analysis and continue to place race under the rubric of ethnicity. By the 1990s, however, work was beginning which called for the injection of race as an analytical category in Canadian history. For instance, recent work on black women explores the interconnectedness of race and gender in the Upper Canadian black community. Adrienne Shadd, "'The Lord Seemed to say "Go"': Women and the Underground Railroad Movement"; Peggy Bristow, "'Whatever you raise in the ground you can sell it in Chatham': Black Women in Buxton and Chatham, 1850-1865"; and Afua P. Cooper, "Black Women and Work in Nineteenth-Century Canada West: Black Woman Teacher Mary Bibb," in Peggy Bristow et. al., eds. *'We're Rooted Here and They Can't Pull Us Up': Essays in African Canadian Women's History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994). In the same vein, initial investigations have examined the impact of white settlement on First Nations' communities in Upper Canada as in Tony Hall, "Native Limited Identities and Newcomer Metropolitanism in Upper Canada, 1848-1867," in David Keane and Colin Read, eds. *Old Ontario: Essays in Honour of J.M.S. Careless* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1990), 147-168.

Within each of these communities there were dissimilarities just as there were in the larger Quaker community. Quaker history abounds with the history of conflict in a society dominated by the philosophy of consensus. Some of the more well-known works which analyse this inconsistency include: Hugh Barbour et. al. *Quaker Crosscurrents: Three Hundred Years of Friends in the New York Yearly Meeting* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995); David E.W. Holden, *Friends Divided: Conflict and Division in the Society of Friends* (Richmond, Indiana: Friends United Press, 1988); Larry Ingle, *Quakers in Conflict: The Hicksite Reformation* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1986); Jack Marietta, *The Reformation of American Quakerism, 1748-1783* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1984); and, Albert Schrauwers, *Awaiting the Millennium.*

[25] For the purposes of the discussion here, unity refers to the separation of Quaker from non-Quakers and purity refers to the separation of those who aspired to the highest ideals of Quakerism from those who did not. Tension between these two ideals has defined relationships in the Society of Friends since its inception. Lacking a written doctrine, the Society had no sharply defined boundaries of belief. As a result, debates over the nature of the Society and the 'real' meaning of George Fox's teaching plagued Friends and were the reason behind the numerous schisms that continued to erode the Society's membership throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Upper Canada where they lived out their faith. Quakers, like other Upper Canadians, defined their relationship to the state through the lens of religion or faith. Like members of the other faith groups in Upper Canada, Quakers viewed their relationship to the state as an expression of their relationship to God.[26]

It took three generations of community development for the relationship between the faith community and the larger society to be worked out. During this time Quakers who happened to live in Upper Canada became Upper Canadian Quakers; the third generation was most comfortable with its identity as Upper Canadians. Through the process of internal conflict and accommodation with the larger society Quakers were able to maintain a community identity that was not exclusive to identification with the larger society. They did so without losing their faith.

Although Quakers did not physically segregate themselves from the society in which they lived, their distinctive modes of dress and language were all designed to set them apart symbolically as a peculiar people. Friends in Upper Canada accepted that they were subjects of the British Crown and that they shared common political and economic interests with their non-Quaker neighbours. Concerns about taxes, roads, schools and access to markets were common to all Upper Canadians. However, the infrastructure of the Society of Friends was designed to seek autonomy from the legislative and political institutions of Upper Canada and from the dominant values of Upper Canadian society. As a peculiar people, Quakers saw themselves as distinct from non-Friends and the society in which they lived. Although they may have shared common interests in relation to the business of daily living, they saw the underlying ideals which shaped their lives as fundamentally different from their neighbours who did not share their faith. Therefore, the autonomy they sought from Upper Canadian society was for the purposes of being able to determine the shape of their community and the direction of the lives of its members.

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[26] The most explicit examination of the connection between faith and social organisation in Upper Canada is William Westfall's, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario*. Curtis Fahey's work on the Anglican church in Upper Canada also explores this relationship and argues that the Anglican church's interaction with Upper Canadian society was not the result of specific institutional demands but was an expression of intellectual conventions and an Anglican world view. Curtis Fahey, *In His Name: The Anglican Experience in Upper Canada*.

Yet, the boundaries of community and society intersected at key points. It was at these crossroads, which were often hot spots, where issues of identity were negotiated and questions of the legitimacy of dissent were raised between those in government and those outside that group. These intersections of community and society were carefully negotiated by the Society's leadership. Just as it was for other groups, dissent was couched in the language of loyalty to the British connection.[27] Quakers and others who challenged the hegemony of the colonial government were not contesting the importance of loyalty to the Crown. They were challenging the Tory elite's interpretation of that connection in Upper Canadian society. As Carol Wilton has noted, both the oppositionists and the supporters of the government in Upper Canada "employed a shared language of political legitimation." That shared language, however, did not erase the significant differences in the political programs of the two groups.[28]

The Quakers' attempt to shape their faith community was no different than that of any of the other denominational churches in Upper Canada. The Church of England performed a similar task in the lives of its members.[29] The hierarchical worldview of the

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[27] David Mills, *The Idea of Loyalty,* 5-6.
[28] Wilton, *Popular Politics*, 17.
[29] Members of the Church of England espoused a value system that was an expression of their faith and its specific interpretation of Christianity. Because so many of Upper Canada's elite were also members of the

Church of England was deeply entrenched in the psyche of the Tory elite, most of whom were Anglican. It provided an apparatus of social order that, for the Tory elite at least, distinctly defined the position of all Upper Canadians. The nature of frontier life in Upper Canada meant that rank and precedence were very delicately balanced, based on one's proximity to the lieutenant governor. Therefore, individual position within the larger hierarchy could easily change. As a result, members of the Tory elite engaged in an elaborate display of ritual visitation and jockeying for position in an effort to ingrain themselves firmly in the upper reaches of the hierarchy.[30] Although they squabbled among themselves about position, they were firmly devoted to the principle of social stratification. This commitment to inequality was an extension of the British hierarchical model on which Upper Canadian society was fashioned. In that model, which was itself an extension of the Anglican worldview, no two people were equal. God was at the top of the hierarchy, the monarch followed and everyone else fell into position after that. Every member of the elite was concurrently a subordinate and a superior. This correlation between the views of the Tory elite and the Church of England created a situation in the colony where acceptance into elite circles was virtually conditional on membership in the Church of England.

Church of England, they were in a unique position to influence the development of the larger social and cultural ideals of this newly-formed society. These ideals closely adhered to their personal faith. Because the Church of England was the established church in Upper Canada, members of the governing class used its faith to legitimate their social position, their political position, and their colonial policies. In essence, because of the social and political status of key members, the Anglican members of the Tory elite framed the ideological tenets of the dominant early Upper Canadian culture. These key members, who eventually earned the name "Family Compact," ensured that these ideals were embedded in the language of loyalty to the Crown. However, for the elite, loyalty was very specifically defined. As far as the elite was concerned, commitment to the British connection was synonymous with accepting the ideals of its culture defined by the religious, political and social ideals of hierarchy.

[30] Katherine M.J. McKenna, "The Role of Women in the Establishment of Social Status in Early Upper Canada," *Ontario History* 82, 3(1990): 179-206; Peter Russell, *Attitudes to Social Structure and Mobility in Early Upper Canada, 1815-1840: "Here we are Laird Ourselves"* (Lewiston: The Edwin Mullen Press, 1990), 187-206.

Parallel to the dedication to hierarchy and to the Anglican worldview was the commitment of the colonial administration to a system dominated by patronage. Patronage played itself out in Upper Canada in two ways. First, it defined the relationship of the members of the society to the society itself. The attempt of the first lieutenant governor, John Graves Simcoe, to inject Britishness into Upper Canadian society was based on the principle of hierarchical give-and-take. Upper Canadians would have all of the advantages of living under the freedom of the British constitution. The price for that freedom was order, not equality.[31] Second, the extension of patronage was clientalism which affected not only the manner in which political and social relationships functioned but the way in which people viewed their participation in Upper Canadian society. Patronage was the reciprocal practice of awarding land grants, civil appointments, contracts, and other public benefits to friends and supporters of the government. The exchange was essentially land or position for loyalty. Clientalism, however, was much further reaching.[32] Clientalism differed from patronage in that it identified a pattern of social relationships that extended far beyond politics to the very fabric of the community. Very quickly, the operation of the colony came to be based on an intricate system of clientalism driven by an oligarchic group in York. The combination of hierarchy and patronage / clientalism was especially frustrating for those who did not adhere to the religious or political worldview of the elite. They had little hope of moving up the social ladder or even becoming involved in 'useful' patron-client relationships.[33] This had the obvious impact of setting those who were not members of the Church of England into direct opposition to those who were.

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[31] S.J.R. Noel, *Patrons, Clients, Brokers: Ontario Society and Politics 1791-1896* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 46.

[32] S.J.R. Noel contends that clientalism denotes "a network of relationships based upon 'vertical dyadic alliances'—that is, upon patron-client bonds." Ibid., 13.

The contrasting cultural systems which developed in Upper Canada in response to these divergent religious world views have been characterised by William Westfall as the "religion of order," defined by the Anglicans, and the "religion of experience," defined by the Methodists.[34] In terms of their worship, which was silent and rational, Quakers can hardly be equated with Methodists and their emotional religion of experience. However, both shared a commitment to the personal experience of the free gift of God's grace. This relationship partially explains why evangelical Methodism had such a profound impact on Quakerism.[35] The Methodist camp meetings and the charismatic evangelists who led them were a powerful force that could not be easily withstood by quietist Friends. Similar belief systems permitted some Quakers to move easily into Methodist circles. However, the relationship between the two groups went beyond theological systems. The fury and excitement of evangelical Protestantism that swept over the northeastern United States and the British North American colonies in the early nineteenth century had profound implications outside its role as a revivalist movement.[36] As a dissenting church, the Society of Friends shared with the Methodists a commitment to a value system that was based on an alternate social organisation that eschewed rigid hierarchy.[37] This helps to explain the association of both groups in efforts aimed at social and political reform in Upper Canada.

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[33] While some elites, like the Catholic MacDonnells of Kingston, were practising members of other churches, those who were Methodists or members of the smaller sects were generally excluded from this circle.

[34] William Westfall, *Two Worlds*.

[35] Quaker historian Arthur Dorland has argued that, "of all the forces outside the Society of Friends which have influenced the religious life and thought of Canadian Quakerism, the most important has probably been evangelical Methodism." Dorland, *The Quakers in Canada*, 133.

[36] Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1982).

When Friends arrived in Upper Canada they sought the freedom to create a self-governing faith community. Living on the northern frontier of Yonge Street allowed Friends to establish a relatively autonomous community where opportunities for direct conflict with the state were limited. However, this only lasted for a few short years. Conflict between Friends and the colonial administration arose when Friends began to feel the state infringing on their ability to determine the direction of their lives. Given that some of the testimonies of the Discipline were directly contradictory to the policies of the colonial government, it was only a matter of time before the conflict was more widespread. For instance, Friends' testimonies on pacifism and the paid pastoral ministry had undeniable political and economic repercussions for their members. The requirement to serve in the militia or pay a fine in lieu of service created obvious problems for Friends who refused to pay the fines. They had their property confiscated or suffered imprisonment as a result. In addition, Quakers were forbidden from leasing the Clergy Reserves which were set aside for the support of the Anglican church. This immediately meant that one-seventh of the colony's lands was not available to them. Not all Quakers experienced the consequences of these testimonies in the same way. The spectrum of religious identity among Quakers from devout to nominal can lead us to expect that there would also be a spectrum of responses to situations which put Friends in conflict with the society in which they lived.

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[37] Nancy Christie, "'In These Times of Democratic Rage and Delusion': Popular Religion and the Challenge to the Established Social Order, 1760-1815," in George A. Rawlyk, ed. *The Canadian Protestant Experience, 1760-1990* (Burlington, ON: Welch Publishing Company Inc., 1990), 9-47.

Pulled between their faith community and the larger society, Friends were required continually to make decisions which, in essence, determined if they were prepared to accept the colonial administration's version of Upper Canadian identity. Did they respond as Quakers or did they play by the rules established by the Tory elite? In the early years of the Friends community on Yonge Street, these two identities seemed to be mutually exclusive. This was not entirely due to the nature of Quakerism. It was a combination of the exclusivity of Quaker identity and that of Upper Canadian identity as defined by the provincial leadership. The colonial government certainly did not define the identity of all Upper Canadians. They did, however, exert considerable power in many areas of Upper Canadian society. They defined the political system which was the locus of conflict for the Quaker Discipline and, as such, it was between those contrasting value systems that Friends were required to choose. The political implications for Upper Canadian society are obvious. As Friends found themselves caught between their faith community and the society in which they lived, decisions about faith increasingly became political decisions. By the 1830s, at the end of the second generation, Newmarket and surrounding area, which were a part of the Home district, became a hotbed of political dissent.[38] Tensions quickly arose between Friends and the Newmarket elite who had ties to the Tory oligarchy in York. The interactions of community and society and the political and economic impact of the Discipline had direct implications in the daily lives of Yonge Street Quakers and sometimes forced Friends to make compromises with the world in which they lived.

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[38] In addition to the fact that this was William Lyon Mackenzie's riding, Carol Wilton has shown that, of the oppositionist signatures on petitions in 1831-32, 45.68% came from the Home district, over four times that of any other district in Upper Canada. Wilton, *Popular Politics*, 239.

No matter how earnest they were in their desire to remain a peculiar people, Upper Canadian Friends lived in a colony where their testimonies often placed them in direct variance with the policies of the colonial elite. As Friends negotiated the lines between their faith community and their geographic community, their actions were based on judging the situation against their individual interpretation of their identity as Friends. Occasionally they compromised and operated by the rules of the colonial leaders. This occurred more frequently in situations involving individuals. Many times, however, Friends did not compromise. As a community they challenged the hegemony of the elite to establish the standards of Upper Canadian identity. For instance, as a group that stood outside the Loyalist military tradition, Quakers asserted their right to be loyal to the Crown while remaining pacifist. As Quakers argued their right to exemption from any form of military participation, they hearkened back to Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe's assurances that they would be free from any militia duty in Upper Canada. During the War of 1812, their refusal to pay fines in lieu of service was met with scepticism by their non-Quaker neighbours who were suspicious of the potential republicans living in a strategic military area along Yonge Street. As "Americans" who retained ties with family, friends, and a large religious society on the south side of the border, it was felt that Quakers could not be neutral and could even be a threat to the peace and stability of Upper Canada. Even though they had their property confiscated and, in some cases, were jailed, very few Quakers involved themselves in the conflict between Britain and the United States which took place in their back yard.

Quakers were not the only group who met with scepticism as a result of their reluctance to be involved in the military conflict of 1812. The concern over the number of American settlers versus the number of British settlers in Upper Canada created heated debate for a number of years after the War of 1812. This is best illustrated in the controversy generated by the Alien Question which sought to define the legal status of American settlers in a British colony. Faced with similar concerns, Quakers soon found that they could join with other dissenters as loyal subjects in demanding changes to land granting policies, financial reform, religious disestablishment and responsible government. By 1837 Quakers were well-represented in movements that called for political reform. For instance, in the Rebellion, Quakers formed 4.2 per cent of the population in rebel areas. Yet, they accounted for 40 per cent of the known rebels and supporters.[39] The Quakers who took part directly in the Rebellion were generally young men whose parents encouraged reform, not insurrection. However, the point remains that by the end of the second generation, sufficient changes had occurred within the Yonge Street Quaker community to encourage and support involvement in social and political movements outside the Society of Friends. The majority of Friends had entered mainstream Upper Canadian society. Their identity as Quakers was no longer exclusive to their identity as Upper Canadians. There were small groups within the Society that retreated even further from mainstream society, but the majority of Quakers in Upper Canada crossed denominational barriers to work alongside other Upper Canadians to press for the legitimacy of dissent within the context of a British North American colony. Although they did not take up arms in the Rebellion, Quaker women were as much a part of this process as Quaker men. Socialised in a community where women were the spiritual equals of men, they were active participants in influencing a more pluralistic Upper Canadian identity.

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[39] Dr. Tom Socknat, talk given to the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Friends Historical Association 1984, *The Tillsonburg News* (November 9, 1984): 9, rpt. *Canadian Quaker History Newsletter* 36 (December 1984).

In order to understand the Yonge Street Quaker community, it is necessary to examine the role that women played in the sect. Quakerism embodied an acceptance of the spiritual equality of men and women. Although this was certainly not unique to Quakerism, and was espoused by some other sects as well, it reached a level of formality within Quakerism not seen in some of the other sects. Moreover, Quakerism was born out of dissent against the background of the English civil wars of the mid-seventeenth century. As a result it was a radical movement and was as much an expression of social relationships as it was a unique awareness of the divine. The purging of church ritual as well as other social rituals which symbolically entrenched social status and the ministry of all believers, male or female, old or young was a radical departure from the accepted social mores of the day. It was because of these radical departures that the sect excited such hostility from the English elite.[40] Although some of the outright hostility toward the sect had softened by the nineteenth century, when Quakers arrived in Upper Canada, aspects of the Quaker faith were still very radical in their challenge to the established social order. Like members of other faiths, those who lived as Quakers, either by birth or by convincement,[41] consciously expressed their worldview through their choice of faith. Part of this worldview was a commitment to uphold the spiritual equality of men and women. This does not mean that women played a more important role than men in the development of Quakerism or of Quaker communities. Nor is this a feminist battle cry pointing to Quakerism as the birthplace of feminism.[42] However, as American historian Nancy Hewitt has pointed out in her study of mid-nineteenth century women's activism in Rochester, New York, the principle of spiritual equality among Quakers had important implications for women outside the immediate Quaker community.[43] The involvement of Quaker women in the public sphere was not dependent on the notions of moral superiority touted by the evangelical groups.[44] Based as it was on a worldview of spiritual equality, Quakerism did not *allow* women to shape their world, it *expected* that women, like men, would do so. As a result, Quaker women were at the centre of issues which defined the Society of Friends. Alongside Quaker men they fought the battles of unity and purity which defined the Quaker community well into the nineteenth century.

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[40] Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution* (Hammondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1976).
[41] This is the term used by Quakers for those who converted to Quakerism based on being convinced of the principles of the faith.

The isolated nature of frontier society in early Upper Canada as well as the exclusivity in identity of the distinct groups resident there meant that, until mid-century, Quaker women's involvement in Upper Canadian society occurred largely within their own faith community. There women shared responsibility, and often led the way, in issues that shaped community life such as implementation of the Discipline, matters of doctrine, education, and temperance. Their socialisation in the Society of Friends set the stage for their larger involvement in the nineteenth-century reform movements of temperance, education and suffrage. These movements of the mid- to late-nineteenth century are beyond the scope of this project. However, it is this very association of activism and organised religion that has dominated works in Canadian women's history which incorporate an analysis of religion or faith.[45] Early work in this field was particularly interested in how the role of women in evangelical churches served as the launching pad for women's increased involvement in the public sphere and the expansion of their role in Canadian society.[46] Organised religion is an understandable focus in the study of nineteenth-century women since it was generally regarded as one of the few legitimate areas of the public sphere in which women could demonstrate their superior moral virtue.[47] These studies generally conclude that the lessons women learned through their work in philanthropic and missionary societies were then carried into social and political reform movements. However, it is important to distinguish between that type of argument and the thesis of this project. The politicisation of Quaker women was based on far more than learning how to run business meetings and work in co-operative church activity. It was based on a fundamental understanding of the spiritual equality of men and women and the expectation that both would be responsible for reforming the world around them in keeping with the tenets of their faith. Unlike women in the major Protestant denominations who used church activity as "their first tentative step outside

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[42] This has been the interpretation of some work in women's history. See for instance Margaret Hope Bacon, *Mothers of Feminism: The Story of Quaker Women in America.*

[43] Nancy Hewitt, *Women's Activism and Social Change*, 97-136.

[44] In Canadian women's history, the association between religion and reform activity has been called "maternal feminism." Linda Kealey first coined the term in the late 1970s; it has since come into general use in Canadian women's history texts. Linda Kealey, ed. *A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and*

Reform in Canada, 1880s-1920s (Toronto: The Women's Educational Press, 1979) and Alison Prentice, et. al., *Canadian Women: A History* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace, 1998).

[45] Ruth Compton Brouwer, "Transcending the 'unacknowledged quarantine': Putting Religion into English-Canadian Women's History," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 27, 3(1992): 47-61. As Brouwer indicates in her article, the American literature is much stronger than the Canadian literature in highlighting the importance of religion in women's lives. Especially notable are Ruth Bloch, "Ideals in Transition: The Rise of the Moral Mother, 1785-1815," *Feminist Studies* 4, 2(1978): 101-126; Ann Douglas, *The Feminzation of American Culture* (1977 rpt.; New York: Anchor Press, 1988); Ann Firor Scott, *Making the Invisible Woman Visible* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984); and Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

[46] See, for instance, Wendy Mitchinson, "Canadian Women and Church Missionary Societies in the Nineteenth Century: A Step Towards Independence,' *Atlantis* 2, 2(1977): 57-75.

[47] In addition to those works in footnote twelve, see Christopher Headon, "Women and Organized Religion in Mid and Late Nineteenth Century Canada," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 20, 1/2(1978): 3-18 and Marguerite Van Die, *An Evangelical Mind: Nathanael Burwash and the Methodist Tradition in Canada, 1839-1918* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), chapter one.

the domestic sphere," as Wendy Mitchinson argues,[48] Quaker women were socialised from infancy to move much more freely between the gendered spaces of public and private. If women's suffrage is to be used as the yardstick to measure the success of this socialisation, Quakerism did have an impact in Canada. Although Cecilia Morgan has concluded that Canadian Quaker women were not as politically active as their American sisters,[49] it was Canadian Quaker women who were the first to petition the Canadian government to enfranchise women to vote in federal elections. In 1887, the Canada Half Yearly Meeting sent a petition to the government expressing its support for female suffrage and requesting that women be permitted to vote in upcoming federal elections. However, focussing on the measurements of the success or failure of religion to empower or disempower women restrains active investigation into the role of faith in defining historical experience.

This project is certainly not an apologia for Quakerism; it does not claim that Quakerism was the "best" religion for women. Nor does it suggest that women became Quakers because it offered them a wider scope of involvement in the public sphere. Rather, it argues that religion or faith was *the* integral aspect of Quaker women's experience. Their identity was tightly tied to their faith community and its beliefs. Other factors of identity such as gender, race, class, ethnicity or the numerous other categories of historical analysis were viewed through the lens of the Quaker faith and were shaded by religious beliefs. Perhaps we have treated religion differently because we feel there is more choice attached to the expression of faith than there is to gender, race or class. Yet, religion or faith was not simply a useful tool for historical actors to accomplish their aims. It was not put on or taken off with one's Sunday best. Faith influenced the way women interpreted their world and their role in shaping that world. Not every Quaker woman was a minister or an activist. However, all Quaker women were socialised to assess community issues and convey their opinion on those they considered important. They also expected that they could appeal decisions they considered unjust. This expectation was expanded to include the larger society. Quaker women who involved themselves in issues of political and social reform did so from the point of view of equals, not as subordinates. Not only were Quaker women accustomed to having a voice in the way their community developed, they expected to have their views considered. The assumption that women should be active participants in the shaping of their community was based in a faith that granted spiritual equality to women and men. It developed through an intricate process of daily community discipline and was exercised in meetings for worship and business and, if necessary, in the larger society as well. Women Friends accepted and expected that they would be involved in shaping their world and in this way actively influenced the development of a pluralistic Upper Canadian identity.

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[48] Mitchinson, "Canadian Women and Church Missionary Societies," 58.

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The Yonge Street Quakers were members of the Society of Friends. Some background on Quakerism will help to understand their testimonies and organisational structure. The Society of Friends, founded by George Fox, began as a response to the formal rigidity of contemporary religion. There is no precise date to attach to the origin of the Society of Friends. No covenant or document signifies the birth of this sect. This

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[49] Cecelia Morgan, "Gender, Religion, and Rural Society: Quaker Women in Norwich, Ontario, 1820-1880," *Ontario History* 82, 4(December 1990): 285.

in itself reflects the evolving nature of Quakerism, a factor that has dominated its history. In 1648, at the age of twenty-four, Fox had an experience that changed his interpretation of the Christian faith and his approach to the world around him.[50] Fox saw religion as an inner experience; he proclaimed that Christ was within everyone. By exercising true repentance and turning to the "Inner Light" within, God would reveal himself to each individual. Considering the period, this was a vastly democratic approach to religion. It denied the necessity of the intercession of priests and rejected rituals which served to entrench spiritual as well as social hierarchy in England. In direct opposition to the established church, Fox's interpretation of faith was a radical call to reconceptualise social relations as much as it was a call to rethink one's relationship with God. Those who joined Fox initially called themselves the Children of Light. Despite the hostility of England's elite towards them and the continual threat of arrest and incarceration, their early focus was evangelism. Quakerism, in its early stages, was completely devoted to missionary endeavours.[51] Although there were many converts in the early years, Quakerism remained an itinerant religion and lacked both organisation and a base of operations.

The first identifiable attempts at organising came in 1652 when George Fox met Margaret Fell at her home, Swarthmoor Hall. Fell was married to Judge Thomas Fell, a Judge of Assize, member of the Long Parliament and Vice-Chancellor of the County Palatine of Lancaster. While Fox was visiting Swarthmoor Hall, Margaret Fell and her daughters became convinced Quakers. Fell opened her home for Quaker meetings and it quickly became the base of operations for the Society of Friends. It is still recognised as the spiritual home of Quakerism. Although Judge Fell did not embrace the new faith himself, he defended Fox's right to proclaim it to others and the right of his wife and children to follow it.[52] Swarthmoor Hall could never have become the headquarters of the Quaker movement without Thomas Fell's consent. His social and political position certainly provided Fell's own family with protection from persecution; Margaret Fell was not arrested for her beliefs until after her husband's death. By extension, the sanctuary of Swarthmoor Hall and Thomas Fell's social position opened the door for organisational growth and the flowering of the Society. Margaret Fell's role in this organisational growth was key to the central role that women would play in the sect.[53] Fell oversaw the missionary activity of the Society by dispatching epistles, books, and financial relief to travelling and imprisoned Friends.[54] She assumed a leadership role beside George Fox. Her own activity and the work of her daughters and other women she led had a significant impact on crystallising the belief of spiritual equality early in the organisational life of the sect.

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[50] Fox's experiences, which were intensely personal and involved hearing the audible voice of God, are described in his journal. John L. Nickalls, ed., *Journal of George Fox,* revised edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952).

[51] John Punshon, *Portrait in Grey: a short history of the Quakers* (London: Quaker Home Service, 1984), 53. See also Elfrida Vipont, *George Fox and the Valiant Sixty* (Gateshead: Northumberland Press, 1975), 18-26.

As a result of Fell's executive activities, a renewed sense of missionary vigour led to the spread of the Quaker message around the world. In 1654 a large group of Quaker evangelists, many of them women, were dispersed in pairs to share the message of the Inner Light. It was through the efforts of one of these pairs that Quakerism was brought to North America.[55] The spread of the faith throughout Britain's empire as well as the significant increase in membership compelled the leadership to tighten their organisational structure. This need intensified when Fox's leadership was directly challenged from within the membership.[56] What came out of this unpleasant episode was a long 'advice' on church government. In 1657 steps were taken to plan a national assembly and in 1660 the first representative meeting of Quakers in England was held. Fox and his ministerial supporters began to organise a series of business meetings which culminated in the London Yearly Meeting. This meeting became the central authority of Quaker meetings in Great Britain and was recognised as the 'mother' meeting by all North American Quaker meetings. The structure that was imposed effectively brought what threatened to become an unruly flock into a framework where control was centralised and monitored.

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[52] H. Larry Ingle, *First Among Friends: George Fox and the Creation of Quakerism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 92.
[53] See Kunze, *Margaret Fell and the Rise of Quakerism*.
[54] Ingle, *First Among Friends*, 93-4; Elfrida Vipont, *George Fox and the Valiant Sixty* (London: Northumberland Press Limited, 1975), 74.

The highest unit of authority was the yearly meeting, which, as its name suggests, met annually.[57] It exercised authority over all of the subordinate meetings in its jurisdiction. Although every man or woman who was a member of the yearly meeting was entitled to speak on any matter that came before it, this meeting was usually attended by representatives sent by subordinate meetings. The yearly meeting was the final court of appeal on any issue, and was also the authoritative interpreter of the Discipline.

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[55] Mary Fisher and her companion Ann Austin arrived at Boston harbour in July 1656. They had come from Barbados where they had been very successful in spreading their message. They were well received in Massachusetts and the governing powers swiftly implemented numerous laws and punishments to be levelled at Quakers who attempted to spread their message in the colony. It was as a result of these laws that Mary Dyer, a convinced Quaker, was hanged in Boston Common in 1660 and became a well-known martyr for the cause of freedom of religion in the colonies.

[56] In 1656 when George Fox was arrested and jailed on a charge of sedition, James Nayler took over leadership of the movement. According to many accounts, Nayler was a very charismatic preacher and debater. For instance, his 1652 defence to a charge of blasphemy was so compelling that one magistrate, sitting in judgement on the case, was convinced of the principles of Quakerism as Nayler defended himself. However, Nayler's charisma also led to behaviour that even Quakers found excessive. During Fox's absence from Friends, Nayler engaged in public behaviours that suggested he was claiming to be Christ. Although the response to these behaviours by Parliament was swift and severe and was personally painful for Nayler, the public damage to the reputation of Friends was serious.

[57] Although all references are in the past tense, the structure of Quaker business meetings outlined here is still in use today.

The business of the yearly meetings operated in the same way as it did in the subordinate meetings. Each session of the meeting was opened and closed with a period of worship, since Quakers viewed worship and the business of the meeting as completely intertwined. The purpose of each business meeting, no matter the level, was not to make decisions on business; it was to seek divine guidance on issues of business. Therefore, each meeting was presided over by a clerk. When an item of business was introduced, those present would pause and seek divine guidance. After full discussion of the issue, it was the clerk's responsibility to draw up a minute which conveyed the wishes of the corporate group. Quakers referred to this as 'taking the sense of the meeting.' If all members present agreed with the minute, it was recorded as the decision of the meeting. If there was disagreement, further discussion ensued and the minute was amended, as many times as necessary, until consensus was reached. As slow as this method of transacting business was, it was an extension of the Quaker faith and the belief in the importance of consensus. It allowed for an expression of minority opinion and was designed to encourage understanding and co-operation among Friends which, ideally, would lead to united action on issues of importance. Obviously, the ideal was not always put into practice, hence the numerous schisms that have torn the Society of Friends apart. The fact that the structure of business meetings was implemented to curtail unruly members who were not in "unity" with other Friends indicates that weaknesses existed in the structure from its inception. It was along these lines of weakness that fractures became schisms.

Next in rank to each yearly meeting were its constituent half-yearly or quarterly meetings. Each of these meetings met two or four times a year and had the same authority. These meetings were largely supervisory bodies to which reports were sent from the monthly meetings. The reports were then summarised by each quarterly meeting and sent up to the yearly meeting. The quarterly meeting also heard appeals from monthly meetings. An appeal turned down at the quarterly or half-yearly meeting could be taken up to the yearly meeting. Quarterly meetings were also invested with the authority to approve or deny the establishment of a monthly meeting within their geographic limits.

The monthly meeting, while subordinate to the authority of the quarterly meeting, was the primary executive and disciplinary body for members of the Society of Friends. All local property such as the meetinghouse, burying ground, or school was held in the name of the monthly meeting. The monthly meeting had the jurisdiction to receive new members or disown members who were guilty of violations of the Discipline. The monthly meeting was also responsible for determining the 'clearness' of marriage partners, that is, whether each partner was free from engagements and if the consent of the parents had been secured. Birth, death, and membership records were kept by this meeting. The monthly meeting issued certificates of removal for migrating Quakers; it also issued and received minutes of unity for travelling ministers. It was the monthly meeting that had the greatest impact on the daily lives of Quakers.

Beneath the monthly meeting was smallest of the business meetings, the preparative meeting. The preparative meeting also met monthly just prior to the monthly meeting. As its name indicates, it was the duty of the preparative meeting to prepare or report on the business of its members, which was then forwarded to the monthly meeting. No business could be presented at a monthly meeting without prior approval of the preparative meeting. The preparative meeting also made decisions on whether complaints against individuals were forwarded to the monthly meeting. They also provided sufficient information about the complaint that it could be dealt with at the monthly meeting. The members of the preparative meeting for business were also members of the meeting for worship in a particular area. At times, where a preparative meeting was not yet established, a monthly meeting could allow or 'indulge' a meeting for worship. Indulged meetings were strictly for worship and had no authority to deal with any items of business.

Quaker meetinghouses were developed in response to the particular style of Quaker worship and business. The meetinghouse was rectangular and was divided into two equal parts, one side for the men and one for the women. The partitions that separated the men's and women's side of the meetinghouse were raised during worship in order that the entire body could worship together. This allowed women and men to speak or 'preach' to each other. The partitions were closed during meeting for business so that each group could attend to its own business without interference from the other. There was, however, a great deal of communication during business meetings as slips of paper passed from one side to another as women and men sought the approbation of each other on important matters of business. There was no pulpit. Symbolising the equality of all who entered, benches were organised so that worshippers faced each other. Eventually one set of benches in both sides was raised slightly to provide special seats for the ministers and elders to oversee their flock during worship. It was here that the clerk sat during meeting for business, facing the membership.

As Friends spread out through the British empire, it became necessary for yearly meetings to exert control over their subordinate meetings. Moreover, even though Quakerism began as a religion of dissent, leaders found it essential to enforce uniform standards of behaviour among followers. This led to the collection of 'advices' which counselled Quakers on their behaviour and way of living. In 1700 a set of queries was established.[58] These were questions pertaining to the observance of Quaker testimonies. They were to be answered by each of the subordinate meetings and forwarded to successive superior meetings.[59] In this way, the central yearly meeting could monitor the state of their subordinate meetings and exert control over recalcitrant membership, if necessary.

Shortly after the queries were first introduced, a collection of rules for behaviour was adopted. The Discipline, as this is known, was designed to assist subordinate meetings in guiding their members. Each of the rules contained within the Discipline was known as a testimony. A number of these testimonies are unique to Friends and have served, through their practice, to differentiate Friends as 'a peculiar people.' These include the testimonies on worship and ministry, dress and speech, marriage, oaths, and war.[60]

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[58] Questions to be answered by subordinate meetings and sent up to the yearly meetings had been instituted prior to 1700. However, these questions were statistical in nature and were more concerned with the number of converts or the number of Friends who had been imprisoned than with the behaviour of members. See Appendix One for a more detailed discussion and examples of the Queries.

[59] Each preparative meeting sent their query responses to their monthly meeting. These were then compiled by the monthly meeting and forwarded to the quarterly or half-yearly meeting which was responsible for submitting a report on the queries to the yearly meeting.

[60] The Discipline and the testimonies are discussed in further detail in Chapter Four.

One of the unique aspects of Quakerism that first drew public attention was the Quaker manner of ministry and worship which rejected formality and liturgy. Quakers believed that God did not speak only to priests or ministers, but could and did speak to everyone, if only they would listen. This was the basis of equality on which Quakerism was founded. The Quaker approach to worship, which extended into daily activities, was not dependent on intellectual accomplishments and academic education but, rather, was dependent on spiritual sensitivity. Coupled with the lack of a formal creed or doctrine, the expression of Quakerism on one's daily life became the individual responsibility of the believer and his or her relationship with God. As such, Friends viewed their faith as a way of living in conformity to the will of God. At its highest level of purity, the expression of the ideals of Quakerism stood to have a profound impact on the societies in which Quakers lived. However, the retreat from formality, ritual, and doctrine to complete dependence on experience was probably the largest weakness of the Society of Friends. The distrust of scholarship and intellectual discipline, which began as a concern for the careful guidance of the Inner Light, led to an aspersion of any secondary means of spiritual development. Dependent solely on the guidance of the Inner Light and lacking a written doctrine and creed, Quakerism was prone to splinter groups. The onslaught of evangelical religion with its enthusiasm, confidence, and reliance on the Scriptures, especially during the Second Great Awakening, was more than the Society could withstand. It magnified the differences within the Society and drove a wedge between those who believed in the traditional freedom of Quakerism from external authority and those who infused Quakerism with the evangelical beliefs of the period. This would eventually lead to the splintering of Quakerism and the integration of Friends back into mainstream society.

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This project is based on the rich and extensive records of the Society of Friends housed in the Canadian Yearly Meeting Archives, at Pickering College in Newmarket. The availability of these records is a result of the work of Arthur Garrett Dorland. Dorland's book, *Quakers In Canada: A History* began as a PhD thesis under the supervision of George M. Wrong at the University of Toronto.[61] First published in 1927, it was reprinted in 1968 and remains one of the only works on Quakers in Canada.[62] Dorland, a Friend himself, probably did more than any other scholar to preserve this history. As a result of his doctoral work, Dorland was motivated to spend his academic career collecting documents and records pertaining to the Society of Friends in Canada. Initially, these were deposited at the University of Western Ontario where Dorland was a faculty member. Following his death, the Canadian Friends Historical Association arranged to have the records moved to their current home in Newmarket. The initial deposits were placed in the aptly-named Dorland Room and have been supplemented regularly since. In fact, the Dorland Room houses the most complete set of Quaker Disciplines in the world. Interestingly, in spite of its rich historical resources, few academics use this archives.[63] This has led to occasional forays into the history of Quakers which are based solely on the meeting minutes found on microfilm in the

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[61] Dorland, *Quakers in Canada*, xi.

[62] There are two other academic works which focus on Quakers in Canada. Both of them are studies of the Children of Peace, one from an anthropological point of view the other from the perspective of material culture. See Albert Schrauwers, *Awaiting the Millennium: The Children of Peace and the Village of Hope, 1812-1889* and W. John McIntyre, *The Children of Peace* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994).

Provincial Archives of Ontario. Although this may lead to conclusions which are methodologically sound, conclusions based only on limited Quaker records lack understanding of the Quaker worldview and the unique aspects of Quaker life.[64]

For those interested in the history of women, the volume of available sources on Quaker women is considerable. Because the structure of the meeting required extensive written communication and the keeping of records, Quaker women have left far more records than many of their social peers outside the Society of Friends. However, sheer volume should not be confused with ease in reconstructing the history of Quaker women in Upper Canada. Many of the records, such as meeting minutes, are institutional and business-like in nature and, therefore, do not convey the finer details of social relationships within each meeting. However, carefully cross-referenced with other records the picture of the community gains greater clarity. These records must be understood in the larger context of Quakerism. Those works which provide the largest context are Quaker theological writings and the continually modified Books of Discipline and Advices and Queries. Highly prescriptive in nature, they supply a written form of accepted social mores within the Society of Friends. Memorials, which were prepared by monthly meetings as a testimony to a deceased member, furnish us with examples of those individuals who came closest to attaining the highest ideals of Quakerism. Finally, the meeting records coupled with journals and personal letters provide a glimpse into the lives of those who struggled on a daily basis with putting their faith into practice.

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[63] The archives are used extensively by local historians and genealogists. The notable exception to this is the substantial work done by anthropologist Albert Schrauwers on the Children of Peace.

[64] See Cecelia Morgan, "Gender, Religion, and Rural Society: Quaker Women in Norwich, Ontario, 1820-1880," *Ontario History* 82, 4(1990): 273-87.

Also essential for this project was a detailed genealogical and geographical reconstruction of the families of the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting. This provides a more complete understanding of the relationships that defined individual, family and community lives. Although there were two other major centers of Quaker settlement in Upper Canada at Pelham, near Niagara, and at Adolphustown, near Kingston, the Yonge Street meeting was chosen for a number of reasons. On a practical level, the meeting was the easiest of the three to reconstruct because of the existence of the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting Register, which gives detailed information about many of the families.[65] Unlike the meetings at Pelham and Adolphustown which were peripherally related to the Loyalist migration to Upper Canada, Yonge Street meeting was settled by a group of Friends led by Vermont Quaker Timothy Rogers solely for the purpose of uniting Friends in Canada. Its location on a major arterial road that connected York to Lake Simcoe meant that the Yonge Street Quakers were strategically located in the colony. This was also an area where settlers from other groups began to converge, thus encouraging far more extensive inter-community interactions between Quakers and their neighbours. Finally, this particular group experienced two significant schisms which broached the community's integrity and further encouraged members to seek affinity with those around them. Therefore, in this Quaker community the issues of community formation and reorganisation are most evident.

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[65] Although the Discipline required records of births and deaths to be kept by the meeting, this register is slightly different. It includes information on the meeting of origin of the families and their location within Upper Canada. No other meeting has this sort of register. The archivist of the Canada Yearly Meeting Archives, Jane Zavitz-Bond, speculates that this register was produced by the meeting when they were seeking monthly meeting status. In order to demonstrate that they had sufficient membership to warrant their promotion from a preparative to a monthly meeting, the meeting may have ordered a census of sorts.

In order to reveal the story of the Yonge Street community of Friends, the project is organised in two sections, each dealing with one generation of the community. Chapter one relates the narrative story of the Yonge Street meeting from the arrival of the first Quakers in 1801 until the separation of the Children of Peace. The narrative provides the framework for the later analytical chapters which make up the rest of the section. The second chapter explores kinship relationships, one of the most fundamental building blocks of the Quaker community on Yonge Street. Without a doubt, kinship was one of the most predominant factors in the formation and preservation of Quaker community. As a strategy of community building in the Yonge Street meeting, it was so successful that by the end of the second generation, most Yonge Street Friends were connected to each other in some way through blood or marriage. Although this created stability, it also forced Friends to look outside their faith community for mates. This increased integration into mainstream society. The rising number of disownments for marrying "out" pushed the Society's leadership to revise the Discipline to allow Friends to marry non-Quakers and remain members of the Society.

Quaker women's role in shaping and sustaining the faith community from generation to generation is investigated in chapter three. Informal education, which was principally the duty of women, was especially important in this process. It permeated every aspect of a Friend's life and socialised Quakers in the unique principles of their faith. Through a number of facets of informal education, many of which were similar to those practised in other faith communities, Quaker women claimed their role as the keepers of the faith. This was not a task confined to the local faith community. Friends viewed this process as sufficiently important to muster the efforts of the extended transatlantic Quaker community. Women worked together to train up their children, keenly aware that their labours were not confined to the local community but crossed geographic boundaries. In this way Quaker children retained an awareness of the larger faith community of which they were a part. However, this also invited the quarrels of the larger society into the local community. Women actively participated in both sides of these quarrels and, as much as they contributed to uniting the local community, they were also instrumental to its decline.

Chapter four examines the socialisation of women within the structure of the business meeting. It demonstrates that, through the business meeting, girls and women were socialised to implement the precepts of Quakerism that they learned through their formal and informal education. The business meeting was much more than a place where women learned the mechanisms of parliamentary procedure. Although these skills were useful when applied in mainstream reform movements, they were not the basis of Quaker women's reforming tendencies. Rather, the notions of spiritual equality, that were integral to the Society of Friends, gained their clearest expression in the business meeting. And it was in the business meeting that Quaker women came to a greater understanding of both their right and responsibility to shape the community in which they lived.

Chapter five, which completes the first section, explores the separation of the Children of Peace. This separation marked the beginning of doctrinal disputes among Upper Canadian Quakers. These would simmer for years and erupt again in the Hicksite-Orthodox controversy. Especially important in the establishment of the Children of Peace were the women who took sides in the dispute and led the verbal assaults in the meeting on issues of doctrine. This pushed for a re-examination of Quaker identity, not only in the meeting but in the homes of the Quaker faithful.

Chapter six provides the narrative of the second-generation community. It demonstrates the added permanence and plurality of the second-generation community and the beginnings of greater interaction with mainstream society. This chapter focuses primarily on the two central events of the Yonge Street Quaker faith community in the second generation: the Hicksite-Orthodox schism and the Rebellion of 1837.

The Hicksite-Orthodox separation of 1828 is explored in greater detail in chapter seven. This chapter examines the impact of external social and political change on the community and the response of Friends to those changes. Changes in mainstream society and the Society of Friends again forced issues of doctrine to the forefront. This time, the separation was not localised but tore apart the North American Quaker meetings. Because they cut to the heart of identity in the Quaker faith community doctrinal issues were deeply personal and extremely divisive. From both sides of the doctrinal divide, women actively defended and advocated their own version of Quakerism. They made decisions about doctrinal issues that had a lasting impact on their families, their community, and most of all, on themselves. As a result of the fragmentation of the Society, Friends began to look outside their own faith community and sought affiliations with those who shared their doctrinal convictions. This was the beginning of their integration into mainstream society.

Chapter eight discusses formal schooling. A "religiously guarded" education was very important to Quakers. From the founding of the Society it had been used to keep their children sheltered from the immoral and corrupt influences of the world. The

Yonge Street Friends shared this commitment to sheltered formal schooling and opened their own school early in the life of the meeting. The separation of Friends in 1828 resulted in the closing of the school.* Friends, committed to the principle of education, were pushed to send their children to the local common schools. Here the young were integrated into mainstream Upper Canadian institutions. However, because informal education had become the predominant mechanism of community reproduction, Quaker children could attend local schools without losing their faith.

Because informal education, under the principle tutelage of Quaker women, had taken precedence in the defence of the principles of Quakerism, the third and successive generations were also able to maintain their faith, even as they became increasingly integrated into Upper Canadian society. By the 1880s, Quakers were indistinguishable from their fellow Protestants on the basis of appearance or even style of worship. Yet, based on the principles of peace, equality, and simplicity, they continued to work actively to define their community. For Quaker women it was not only their right; they felt it was their responsibility as keepers of the faith.

PART ONE

THE FIRST-GENERATION COMMUNITY

Chapter One
God's Other Peculiar People:
The Yonge Street Quakers in Early Upper Canada

During the summer of 1800, Timothy Rogers, a Quaker millwright from Vermont, trod north from muddy York to Lake Simcoe through the dense forest along Yonge Street, a forest trail named after one-time British Secretary of War, Sir George Yonge. Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe had had great hopes for the military road he had ordered blazed through the wilderness in 1793, envisioning it as a connector between the provincial capital at York and Lake Simcoe. In 1800, however, it was still a muddy and often impassable track through the bush. Despite the difficulties of travel, Timothy Rogers decided the gently rolling hills north of the Oak Ridges would make fertile farmland and the river tributaries would provide opportune places for the building of mills. And so he decided that it was here, thirty miles north of York, that he would bring fellow Quakers to settle in Upper Canada, between the two already established Quaker meetings at Pelham and Adolphustown, situated approximately two-hundred-and-fifty miles from each other.[1]

This chapter provides a narrative framework of the first generation Yonge Street Quaker community established by Timothy Rogers in 1801 until the separation of the Children of Peace in 1814. Although this era seems relatively brief it was, nonetheless, a period which produced a strong, vigourous and continually growing fellowship of Friends. In the first generation this was first and foremost a Quaker community. Structurally and spiritually it had many of the same characteristics of other Quaker communities in the transatlantic world of the Society of Friends. Like other eighteenth-century Quaker communities, it was distinct and insulated from the larger society in which it was formed. As an Upper Canadian community, though, it shared the common experience of the frontier which defined life in other communities in this area.[2] Like those of other migrants to Upper Canada during this period, Quakers' daily lives were occupied with securing and clearing land, constructing homes, and establishing the infrastructure specific to their community.[3] Because they were a faith community, and a very unique faith community at that, the efforts of Friends were applied to the creation and maintenance of an insulated community that would remain integral and separate from mainstream society.

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[1] The settlement is at the site of current-day Newmarket, Ontario.

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[2] In addition to sharing the experience of the frontier, settlement in early Upper Canada carried with it particular experiences related to its strict direction by the governing authorities. For instance, Upper Canadian settlers had to deal with the existence of Clergy and Crown Reserves. There were also the beginnings of the province's road network; those who settled along one of these roads, especially Yonge Street, had to fulfil specific settlement requirements. See R. Louis Gentilcore and David Wood, "A Military Colony in the Wilderness: The Upper Canada Frontier," in David Wood, ed., *Perspectives on Landscape and Settlement in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1978), 32-50.

[3] The exact parameters of the "frontier" years are difficult to delineate. They began officially in 1784 with the arrival of the Loyalists and the early settlement of the Royal Townships and the Cataraqui Townships. They ended at different times throughout the province, depending on when the land was settled. By the 1820s the southern-most townships were no longer raw frontier settlements; the northern townships remained frontier-like well into the 1840s. It is generally agreed that the construction of railways in the mid-nineteenth century significantly changed Upper Canadian society and signalled the end of the frontier era. See, for instance, Donald Harman Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984); Gerald M. Craig, *Upper Canada: The Formative Years, 1784-1841* (1963, rpt.; Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1991); Bruce S. Elliott, *Irish Migrants in the Canadas: A New Approach* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1988); David Gagan, *Hopeful Travellers: Families, Land, and Social Change in Mid-Victorian Peel County, Canada West* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981); Michael B. Katz, *The People of Hamilton West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1975); Douglas McCalla, *Planting the Province: The Economic History of Upper Canada, 1784-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993); Marianne McLean, *The People of Glengarry: Highlanders in Transition, 1745-1820* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991); Darrell A. Norris, "Migration, Pioneer Settlement, and the Life Course: The First Families of an Ontario Township," in J.K. Johnson and Bruce G. Wilson, eds., *Historical Essays on Upper Canada: New Perspectives* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1989), 175-201; Peter A. Russell, "Forest to Farmland: Upper Canadian Clearing Rates, 1822-1839, " in Johnson and Wilson, eds, *Historical Essays on Upper Canada: New Perspectives*, 131-49; Catharine Anne Wilson, *A New Lease on Life; Landlords, Tenants, and Immigrants in Ireland and Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994).

In the first generation three general factors kept this inward-looking community insulated from the newly-forming Upper Canadian society. First, this was a community on the frontier. While they had some interactions with non-Quakers in the area, the physical and geographic realities of northern Yonge Street allowed Friends to settle in close proximity where they could support each other and quickly implement central organisation around the hierarchical structures of a Quaker meeting. Second, family and kinship ties reinforced the bonds of faith that brought this group to Yonge Street in the first place. This strengthened relationships among Friends from different meetings of origin and fortified existent faith connections. Third, the Quaker faith and its strictly defined testimonies outlined in the Discipline allowed for a community cohesiveness that spanned geographic boundaries while it continued to keep Quakers apart as a "peculiar" people. The outward markers of speech and clothing served as a hedge of protection around the community and were designed to keep the world out and Friends in.

The integrity of the community was challenged in the first generation by epidemic disease, the War of 1812, and a doctrinal dispute that splintered off a number of families. Moreover, underlying tensions between the policies of the colonial government and certain Quaker testimonies against oaths, military activity, and a paid pastorate stood to set Friends in direct opposition to the state. There were individual situations where the testimonies of Friends placed them in compromising circumstances in their dealings with the larger society. However, the community withstood these challenges and emerged in the second generation as a resolute, maturing faith community distinct from the larger society around it.

The summer of 1800 was not the first time that Timothy Rogers had travelled north from the American republic to British North America; in 1795 he had accompanied Joshua Evans, a Quaker minister from New Jersey, on an extensive three-month ministry trip through Quebec and Nova Scotia. Nor was this Rogers's first attempt at establishing a settlement in Upper Canada. In September 1796, he had approached his monthly meeting at Danby with his interest in moving westward "to look for some new settlement."[4] A committee was appointed to visit him and examine his request. This was a function of the mid-eighteenth century reformation of the Society of Friends which produced a tight control on uncontrolled migrations. The leadership of the Society recognised the difficulties that migration to distant and remote locations caused in maintaining the integrity of the Quaker meeting. Therefore, meetings were firm in their insistence that these sorts of decisions required the approval of the members of the monthly meeting to which the potential émigrés belonged. Although the committee in Rogers's case gave grudging approval to the move, Rogers found the general tenor of Friends' displeasure for a move to Upper Canada persuasive enough that he postponed his move. Timothy Rogers remained in Vermont for four years. Yet, he continued to feel compelled to move west.[5]

There is no doubt that Rogers was disappointed in the tenor of the meeting's response to his decision to move. He considered himself a very spiritual man. His journal is filled with pages of prayers and views on religion that attest to this. The fact that he was never recognised as a minister or elder, or even an overseer, did not sit well with him. He appears to have considered the meeting's disapproval as an expression of doubt of his discernment. Rogers seemed to be caught between obedience to what he felt God was calling him to do and the very real authority that the meeting had in directing his daily life. Despite his disappointment, Timothy Rogers continued to serve his meeting by accompanying recognised ministers on their pastoral travels and acting as appointed representative to the Yearly Meeting. Both activities required a considerable donation of time—ministerial trips usually lasted at least a month and attendance at the Yearly Meeting in New York required a commitment to travel both ways and to attend all business sessions which took place over a period of a few days. Rogers did not elaborate greatly on the personal costs associated with these commitments. On one occasion, however, when he was appointed as a representative to the Yearly Meeting in 1797 he did admit some anxiety about the toll it would take on his resources: "I found a concern to try to get to our Yearly Meeting, but found it very trying, wishing to do a duty as I have a wife and eleven children, the most small, and my oldest son about to go for himself."[6] In spite of his trials, Rogers's wife and family obviously kept the home fires burning and the farm running as the family was able to accumulate some material security. Rogers also possessed a keen business mind evident in the fact that he was called upon regularly to arbitrate disputes between Friends and to assist needy Friends in settling business affairs that had gone sour. It is certainly possible that Rogers hoped his continued willingness to make a sacrifice for his meeting would be recognised as an outward sign of spiritual maturity.

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[4] Christopher Densmore and Albert Schrauwers, eds. *"The Best Man for Settling New Country...": The Journal of Timothy Rogers* (Toronto: Canadian Friends Historical Association, 2000), 87, hereafter *The Journal of Timothy Rogers*.

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[5] According to his journal, during this period Rogers suffered a number of "physical and spiritual exercises" which he assumed were visited upon him because of his failure to move west.
[6] *Journal of Timothy Rogers*, 88.

Timothy Rogers is an intriguing example of a first-generation Quaker. Through his journal we see the struggles he experienced in his attempt to equate his Quaker worldview with his everyday conduct. Rogers was not born a Quaker but became convinced of Quaker principles in 1776 when he was twenty years old. Coming from a poor family, Rogers was "put out" very young and "was used very hard" until he was six years old and was taken in by his uncle, John Huntley, a brother of his mother, Mercy Huntley. Unfortunately, his uncle was also poor and had a large family and Timothy found himself put out, once again, this time to a Baptist minister. Although he did move back to his uncle's home briefly, Timothy spent the majority of his youth bound to other families. He was grateful, however, that these masters treated him better than his first. For instance, when he was about fourteen years old, he expressed to his master his desire to learn to read and write and, as a result, he was sent to a school mistress for a period of three weeks where he learned the rudiments of reading, writing, and ciphering. He continued his education through some efforts at night school but much of his learning was self-taught. This is what makes Rogers's journal and writings so fascinating. Judging from his penmanship and erratic spelling, compared to that of his Quaker peers, writing was an endeavour that required a great deal of effort on Rogers's part. Yet, he insisted on keeping meticulous records of his life experiences, especially of his many visions. This was possibly a result of his elusive desire to be recognised as a minister.

Rogers's adult life, especially his years in Upper Canada, seemed to be devoted to overcoming the circumstances of his birth. Growing up poor and knowing little family, he married young, fathered twenty children, saw most of his children well-established in farming or business and died having amassed a small fortune in money and land.[7] When he was nineteen Timothy married Sarah Wilde, a Baptist, and the couple set up housekeeping in the Nine Partners area of the colony of New York where there was a sizeable Quaker population. Shortly after their marriage, the American War of Independence broke out. At the same time, Rogers became interested in pacifist principles and the Quaker practice of using simple language. The following year, in 1777, the young couple and their new son moved to Danby, Vermont where they found themselves in the wilderness, once again in the company of a number of Quaker families. Danby had been settled by Quakers from the Boston area who had begun to leave Massachusetts for the western frontier in the early 1760s.[8] The western frontier became a desirable destination for Quakers in the period around the Seven Years War and the American Revolution. Their pacifist principles led them to the wilderness in an effort to avoid what one of them referred to as "the commotions."[9] So many Friends moved west between 1774 and 1796 that six new Quarterly Meetings were added to the two already established within the New York Yearly Meeting.[10]

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[7] Some of Canada's most successful business people can claim a connection to Timothy Rogers. For instance, Edward (Ted) Rogers Jr., owner of Rogers Communications, is the third great-grandson of Timothy Rogers through Timothy's daughter Mary. Edward Rogers Jr. bears no relation to the Rogers of Rogers Rangers, the Mayflower Rogers or John Rogers the martyr who was burned at the stake in 1555 as has been concluded erroneously by Peter Newman. Peter C. Newman, *Titans: How the New Canadian Establishment Seized Power* (Toronto: Penguin Group, 1998), 49.

[8] Joyce M. Scott, "Danby, Vermont: setting for exodus," *Families* 15, 2(1976): 58. According to Timothy Rogers, Danby had been founded by Stephen Rogers and his family, an unrelated Rogers family who were fourth-generation Quakers from Marshfield, Massachusetts. Stephen Rogers was the youngest son of John Rogers and Sarah Wing. This branch of the Rogers family became Quakers soon after members of the 'Valiant Sixty' arrived in the colonies in the mid-seventeenth century. Stephen and his two older brothers, Wing Rogers and John Rogers, and their families left Massachusetts for Vermont, settling in Danby, Ferrisburg, and Tinmouth respectively. These families became very interconnected with the family of Timothy Rogers and have often been mistakenly identified by local historians and genealogists of the Yonge Street Quakers. This is discussed in greater detail in the chapter on kinship.

[9] *A Journal of the Life, Religious Exercises, and Travels in the Work of the Ministry, of Rufus Hall, Late of Northhampton, Montgomery County, in the State of New York* (Byberry: John and Isaac Comly, 1840), 3.

[10] In 1774 there were two quarterly meetings under the New York Yearly Meeting: Nine Partners Quarterly Meeting and Westbury QM. Those meetings which were added in this period include: Cornwall

This movement of members of the Society of Friends has been called the Great Migration. As Arthur Dorland has noted: "[b]y 1820, it had brought more than twenty thousand Friends into the Great Plains beyond the Alleghenies and established in the Middle West one of the most populous centres of Quakerism in the world."[11] The migration of settlers to the west was certainly not confined to the Quakers. The fever to move west had spread through the colonies and intensified after the Seven Years' War and American Revolution when many of the native inhabitants had been pushed back.[12] The Quakers, like other pioneers, also sought new land and new opportunities. Yet, their reasons for moving west were coloured by their worldview and their attitudes towards issues such as peace, slave-holding and the disenfranchisement of the Natives. Even though the anti-slavery movement among Quakers grew slowly, by the end of the eighteenth century, influential Quaker leaders such as John Woolman, William Reckitt, and Benjamin Ferris had effectively agitated Quakers to stand firm against what they saw as the moral corruption of slavery. Political events such as the Ordinance of 1787, which prohibited the existence of slavery in the Northwest, "opened up for Friends an almost 'divinely inspired Canaan' and was a powerful incentive for emigration to this territory."[13] The westward migration of Quakers and their eventual settlement in Upper Canada should not be confused with their desire to live under British institutions,

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QM, 1777; Duanesburg QM, 1793; Easton QM, 1781; Ferrisburg QM, 1793, Purchase QM, 1774; Saratoga QM, 1797; and, Stanford QM, 1776. Hugh Barbour et.al., *Quaker Crosscurrents: Three Hundred Years of Friends in the New York Yearly Meeting* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995), 39-41.

[11] Arthur G. Dorland, *The Quakers in Canada: A History* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1968), 55.

[12] On the impact of colonial warfare and the push for 'western' settlement on Natives see, Colin G. Calloway, ed., *The World Turned Upside Down: Indian Voices from Early America* (Boston: St. Martin's Press, 1994); Colin G. Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), especially 272-301; Roger L. Nichols, *Indians in the United States and Canada: A Comparative History* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), especially 122-150.

[13] Dorland, *The Quakers in Canada*, 56.

although for some this may have been the case. Quakers generally believed that government was divinely instituted and it was not up to the people to plot sedition and upset God's order. However, once the conflict had occurred, as it had with the American Revolution, Friends were content to make peace with their new leaders. Their complete withdrawal from any government or political activity during the Revolution makes it increasingly unlikely that the move to Upper Canada was based on ardent adherence to Loyalist principles.[14]

Regardless of whether Quakers favoured British institutions or not, the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada was eager to have Friends migrate north. As the commander of the Queen's Rangers, John Graves Simcoe had spent some time in Pennsylvania during the American Revolution. He had been impressed with members of the Society of Friends and their disciplined commitment to hard work and industry and their lack of interest in luxury and fashion. Simcoe was certain they would make perfect settlers for his forest wilderness. In order to attract as many of these potential colonists as possible, Simcoe promised in 1792 "to the Quakers and other sects the similar exemption from militia duties which they have always met with under the British government."[15] He was also prepared to exempt Quakers from both taxation and the required oath to the Crown, in favour of an affirmation. This was an overture his superior, Henry Dundas, quickly rejected commenting: "[e]very reasonable degree of encouragement should be given to the Quakers as they are perhaps of all others, the most useful to an infant colony, but to exempt them from any taxes would be impolitic if not impracticable and would sooner or later occasion discontent in His Majesty's other subjects." As for the affirmation, Dundas doubted Quakers would be able to accept it, since only the process would change, not the substance required by the oath: "to defend his Majesty to the utmost of his Power against all traitorous Conspiracies and Attempts, &ca."[16] What Simcoe could offer was free land. In the economic instability of the post-Revolution period, this was an offer taken up by many 'Americans,' Quaker and non-Quaker alike, who took their families, few possessions and their chances on a life in the wilds of Upper Canada.[17]

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[14] Arthur J. Mekeel, *The Relation of the Quakers to the American Revolution* (Washinton, D.C.: University Press of America, 1979), 327-9. Mekeel points out that, just as there were Friends who were openly Patriots, there were some who were openly Loyalist. However, these numbers were never significant.
[15] E.A. Cruikshank, ed., *The Correspondence of Lieut. Governor John Graves Simcoe, with Allied Documents relating to his Administration of the Government of Upper Canada, volume 1, 1789-1793* (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1923), 199.

It was in this atmosphere that Timothy Rogers felt he could no longer ignore God's call west. By 1800, he and his wife had experienced limited prosperity in Vermont but some financial difficulties and an unspecified circumstance, which required both his and his wife's acknowledgement in a meeting, spurred a feeling in Rogers that God was again calling him west.[18] Rogers struggled to equate his apparent desire to succeed financially for the sake of his family with obedience to the guidance of the Inner Light. His inner strife is described at length in his journal and is revealing of Rogers's faith:

> But I was waiting on the Lord, there was a very pleasant feeling covering my mind, and I gave all up to His will, thinking I would do anything that He required. And it appeared if I would make ready and go immediately to the westward, the Lord would make way for me to settle in the wilderness, where no others were settled, and that both me and my children might settle there, and that the place should soon settle, and that it should open a door for a Meeting of Friends in that place. I gave up to do as the Lord, by His spirit, now revived in my mind; for it

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[16] Ibid., volume II, 82-3.

[17] See, for instance, Gerald M. Craig, *Upper Canada: The Formative Years, 1784-1841;* Leo A. Johnson, "Land Policy, Population Growth and Social Structure in the Home District, 1793-1851," in J.K. Johnson, ed., *Historical Essays on Upper Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1975), 32-57; and, Fred Landon, *Western Ontario and the American Frontier* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1970).

[18] According to the minutes of the Ferrisburg Preparative Meeting, to which Rogers and his wife belonged, Rogers offered an acknowledgement for "falling into a passion and using unbecoming language and conduct in his family." *The Journal of Timothy Rogers*, 103, footnote 3.

> was agreeable to a prospect that I had in years past, but as my wife was unwilling to move I could not see how it could be, as I also had 3 daughters married and settled, and 2 sons; but I went to making ready, and said nothing, but about three weeks after an occurrence took place whereby my wife became willing, and on the 24 day of 4th mo. 1800, I started.[19]

This time, the meeting agreed to Rogers's request and he lost no time in preparing to travel to Upper Canada in search of desirable land. He refused to delay his journey, even though his good friend Wing Rogers promised to accompany him if he would wait until after the harvest to travel north.[20] Rogers's haste was connected to a vision he recorded in his journal which revealed that if he went immediately and found a place between Pelham and Adolphustown, Upper Canadian Friends would be united in a single quarterly or yearly meeting.[21] Again, it is possible that Timothy Rogers was seeking recognition for himself spiritually. Perhaps he felt that in establishing a Quaker meeting, he would be rewarded and recognised as a minister. Whatever his reasons, he set out immediately in the company of his son-in-law, Rufus Rogers.

In Upper Canada, Rogers decided on the location of his settlement and then met with both Administrator Peter Hunter and Chief Justice John Elmsley to formalise an agreement for settlement. Rogers contracted with Hunter to bring forty families five hundred miles overland from Vermont to farms of two hundred acres each. While he was waiting for the patents to be drawn up, Rogers made a side trip to Lake Erie to visit Friends of the Pelham Monthly Meeting, which was under the care of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. The purpose for this trip is not made clear in Rogers's journal. Since it was a long and undoubtedly arduous journey, we can speculate that it was not a sightseeing venture, but rather an effort to make contact with fellow Quakers in order to share his vision for the unification of Quakers in Canada. While at Pelham, Rogers heard that Isaac Phillips and Samuel Lundy, Friends from Bucks County, Pennsylvania, were currently north of York, exploring the possibilities for good farmland in the very area from which he had just come.[22] When Rogers returned to York to collect his patents, he met both men and discovered that they had agreed to settle twenty families on land adjoining that to which he had accepted patents. Rogers was delighted with the news. Already it appeared his vision was taking shape.

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[19] *The Journal of Timothy Rogers*, 103.

[20] Wing Rogers was a very close friend of Timothy Rogers. Three of Timothy and Sarah's daughters had married three of Wing Rogers's sons. Timothy and Sarah had also named one of their sons Wing. Wing Rogers was also a prosperous and weighty Friend in the Danby Monthly Meeting. His counsel, therefore, would not have been discarded lightly and demonstrates Rogers's determination to fulfil what he saw as a prophecy for his own life.

[21] *Journal of Timothy Rogers*, 105.

Peter Hunter, like John Graves Simcoe, seemed to be quite disposed to the settlement of Quakers along the wilds of Yonge Street. The prospect of having the lands adjacent to Yonge Street cleared and settled at little government expense was very desirable. As a result, Hunter assisted Friends in securing appropriate patents. Rogers also formed a friendly relationship with Chief Justice John Elmsley. In fact, he considered the Chief Justice such a good friend that upon his return to Vermont in the summer of 1800, he named his newborn son John Elmsley Rogers.[23] Rogers was able to return to his meeting feeling quite confident about the outcome of his exploratory expedition. He had established good relationships with key government leaders and had ascertained that his proposed settlement would be larger by virtue of the arrival of the Pennsylvania Friends. He had every reason to believe that his community would be successful. The only task remaining was the recruitment of settlers prepared to make the tedious overland journey to Upper Canada.

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[22] Isaac Phillips had obviously been at Pelham at some point that summer with the intent of settling in Upper Canada. He had produced the membership certificate for himself, his wife, and their six children on 02-07-1800. Records of the Society of Friends, MS 303, Reel 40, C-3-44, Pelham Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1799-1806. Originals and microfilm at CYM Archives. Copies of the microfilm are available at the Provincial Archives of Ontario.

[23] Naming patterns among Quakers have been discussed in detail by David Hackett Fischer in *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 502-7. Because Rogers was a convinced Quaker, one does not find this pattern adhered to as closely as it was within families where Quaker naming ways had been established. Timothy Rogers's oldest children all had good Biblical names: Obadiah, Hannah, James, Mary, Lydia, Sarah, Timothy, Elizabeth, John, Asa and Matilda. The last three children born to Timothy and his wife Sarah Wilde Rogers were named Wing, after his good friend Wing Rogers, John Elmsley, after the Chief Justice of Upper Canada, and Stephen, after his good friend Stephen Rogers, "a fine good Elder" in Danby, Vermont. Interestingly, in his second marriage,

Although Rogers was not able to recruit the full complement of forty families that first winter, when he left Vermont in February 1801, his list of settlers included twenty-seven "heads of families." A number of these émigrés were personally related to Rogers. Two were his sons: Obadiah, who was twenty-four, and James, who was twenty. Three were his sons-in-law: Rufus Rogers, Asa Rogers, and Wing Rogers Jr.. Bethuel Huntley was his uncle and Isaac Rogers was a cousin of Rufus, Asa, and Wing Rogers Jr. Most of the families who came with Timothy Rogers were not wealthy. The men listed on "Mr. Rogers's List of Settlers" were worth a combined value of 18,250 dollars; Timothy Rogers was the wealthiest of the lot, with his worth listed as 5, 000 dollars. Having failed to recruit the full complement of forty families, the list promised that "a number of families more on the way, which will not come forward in some months, but Mr. Rogers expects possibly about 20 good families next winter."[24] That same winter Samuel Lundy and Isaac Phillips also brought families overland from Pennsylvania.

The difficulties that faced the settlers on their winter journey can only be imagined. Many of the women were travelling with young children and small infants; there were at least four infants among the Vermont group between the ages of two and ten months. Sarah Rogers and her nineteen-year-old daughter Mara Rogers both had

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Timothy Rogers chose to remember his first wife in the naming of one of the sons born to his second wife Anna Harned. They named him John Wilde Rogers.

infants, one month apart in age. At least the mothers with young children had the assistance of the other women with whom they travelled. In recording the actual journey, Timothy Rogers commented only that they "had a tedious voyage" and they suffered "many trials."[25]

We get a better idea of a woman's perspective of the journey from the journal of Phebe Winn who came to Upper Canada with her family in 1804. Phebe Winn's son, Theodore, was one of the original settlers to come with Timothy Rogers in 1801 and Phebe and her husband Jacob had been long-time friends of Timothy and his wife Sarah.[26] The Winns did not travel in the winter but left Vermont in June. The better weather obviously had an impact on the length of time it took to complete their journey; the Winns arrived in Upper Canada after only a month, compared to the two-and-a-half months it had taken Rogers's group. Nevertheless, the trials of the journey caused Phebe Winn to be "much exercised with the head Ack" throughout the trip. Winn indicated some of the challenges faced by the travellers in her journal:

> Through the Goodness of him who slumbers not we have had a very comfortable night and are now unloading our waggon to git it out of the hole suppose we are six miles from a house Middle of the day we reacht the last bogges and Family exceedingly fatigued here we got some Grain and Grass for our horses have provisions plenty For the Family are informed that it is 11 miles to Niagara river the worst of the way over except a mountain Five miles before us Got up the mountain with some difficulty past through a very considerable indian village

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[24] "Mr. Rogers's List of Settlers," from Land Book D, 629-630, MS 303, Reel 54, D-2-8.

[25] *Journal of Timothy Rogers*, 107.

[26] Upon his return from his ministry trip through Quebec and Nova Scotia in August of 1795, Timothy Rogers noted in his journal that he found his family "out of order". His ten children had whooping cough and his wife Sarah had moved Phebe Winn and her children into their home, since they were all ill. Sarah, apparently the only healthy one at the time, was caring for all of them. Timothy noted that Phebe was "exceedingly touchy" with him as a result of some financial difficulties that the Winns had been through which resulted in them having to sell their farm and Jacob's cooper tools. Phebe evidently considered Timothy partially responsible for the family's bad fortune. Timothy felt ill-used by Phebe and her husband, commenting: "I hope the poor that do not or cannot, or will not, maintain themselves, will not use their best friends so any more." *Journal of Timothy Rogers*, 84.

> called the Tuscaroras Got to Niagara before dark put up att Cooks inn have been eighteen days on our journey[.][27]

Timothy Rogers met the family in York and led them north to their new home. Despite the difficult journey, it was with a sense of satisfaction that Winn concluded her diary of the trek noting that "our children [are] once more together" and they "appear[ed] cheerfull and well satisfied."

The lack of settlement in the townships of King, East Gwillimbury, Whitchurch, West Gwillimbury, and Uxbridge meant that family and friends could settle in close proximity to each other. This was especially the case along Yonge Street where there were no Crown or Clergy Reserves. In the first concessions of King and Whitchurch, on the west and east sides of Yonge Street respectively, there were contiguous farms, settled by members of the Society of Friends, sometimes from the same family. For instance, the Rogers clan had adjoining lots from ninety-one through ninety-six in King and lots ninety-three through ninety-six in Whitchurch. By 1807, only two of lots eighty through one hundred on either side of Yonge Street in the first concessions of King and Whitchurch were owned by non-Quakers. Bethuel Huntley, an uncle of Timothy Rogers and one of the original settlers in Rogers's group, owned one of those.[28] As more Quakers arrived, they took up lots as close to each other as possible. Since King township was more rocky and did not boast farmland as promising as that east of Yonge Street, most Quaker settlement clustered around Yonge Street and then east into Whitchurch, East Gwillimbury, and Uxbridge. For the successful completion of his contract with Peter Hunter, Timothy Rogers received a signed statement from Hunter pronouncing that Rogers had "in all respects, conducted and demeaned himself as a good moral character and faithful subject."[29] The future of Rogers's Quaker settlement looked bright.

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[27] Phebe Winn's diary of a Journey, MS 303, Reel 54, D-2-16. All spelling as in original.

[28] Land Registry Index. I am grateful to Albert Schrauwers for sharing his records on land ownership with me. See the Location of Some Yonge Street Friends on page ix for an indication of where Rogers's settlers took up land.

Since the majority of Yonge Street settlers came from Pennsylvania, they were placed under the care of the Pelham Monthly Meeting which reported directly to the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. Once they were settled in, Timothy Rogers and his sons-in-law were of course anxious to act on what Timothy saw as his destiny in establishing a meeting which would bring Friends in Canada together. After settling into some makeshift dwellings, they began to meet unofficially in the home of Timothy Rogers.[30] By December, Timothy and his sons-in-law made the trek to Pelham to deposit their respective families' certificates of membership and to request an indulged meeting for worship.[31] A large group of nine men and six women from Pelham was appointed to visit Friends at Yonge Street to assess the request.[32] Obviously distance and the roads made this a slow process as well since it was not until the following July that the group was able to report "that they had visited all the members at their dwellings, except one, and established meetings for worship on first and fifth days."[33] Isaac Phillips, Asa Rogers,

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[29] *Journal of Timothy Rogers*, 104. The certificate is dated 1803.

[30] *Journal of Timothy Rogers*, 107.

[31] Pelham Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1799-1806, MS 303, Reel 40, C-3-44, 02-12-1801. On this day, certificates were deposited for Timothy Rogers, his wife Sarah and their eight children; for Asa Rogers, his wife Mary and their son Zenos; and for Rufus Rogers and his wife Lydia. This must have been a particularly difficult meeting to travel to, since the minutes record that two more local women appointed from one of Pelham's preparative meetings to attend the Monthly Meeting could not "by reason of the badness of the roads."

[32] Appointed were: Samuel Beckett, John Culter, Daniel Wilson, Samuel Taylor, Joseph Hill, Obadiah Dennis, Abraham Laing, Isaac Laing, Mary Moore, Ann Wilson, Hannah Taylor, Hannah Beckett, Elisabeth Taylor and Grace Hill. Joseph Hill and his wife Grace must have been impressed with what they encountered on their visitations; they moved to Yonge Street in the summer of 1803. Pelham Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1799-1806, 02-08-1803.

[33] Pelham Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1799-1806, 07-07-1802.

Sarah Rogers and Edith Phillips were appointed as the first overseers.[34] In addition two more women from Pelham, Prudence Dennis and Sarah Burwell, were added to the committee to oversee the indulged meeting for worship at Yonge Street. The meeting met at the home of Rufus Rogers on Lot 91, west side of Yonge Street in the first concession of King. The meeting grew rapidly and an addition of a log room built specially for the purpose of meeting for worship was soon required.[35]

Family and friends from Vermont and Pennsylvania quickly began a series of chain migrations that would carry on for the next thirty years. In many cases parents followed a child north to Upper Canada; in turn other siblings and related family members arrived. The result, especially in the case of the Pennsylvania group, was a large, highly interrelated and extended kinship group. The close-knit nature of the community had a direct impact on the vitality and stability of this fellowship of Friends in the wilds of Upper Canada.[36] Additional arrivals soon added to the number considered "weighty" Friends[37] in the community: Henry and Martha Widdifield, from Muncy in 1803, both recognised ministers; Jacob and Phebe Winn from Danby in 1804, he a recognised minister; and, Job and Eleanor Hughes from Catawissa in 1805, he a recognised minister, she an elder. This was certainly beneficial for the 'health' of the meeting as well as the community.

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[34] Although Timothy Rogers's wife, Sarah, and his son-in-law were appointed overseers, Rogers was not. The meeting at Pelham was careful to ensure equal representation from the Vermont and Pennsylvania Quakers.

[35] *Journal of Timothy Rogers,* 107.

[36] Elizabeth Hovinen notes that "of 373 nuclear families who appear at some point in Quaker records for Yonge Street, there is evidence that 201 (almost two-thirds) remained in the area until they died or until 1837." She attributes this directly to kinship ties. Elizabeth Hovinen, "The Quakers of Yonge Street," Discussion Paper No. 17, Department of Geography, York University, 1978, 26.

[37] The term "weighty Friend" applies to the ministers and elders, those who carried a great deal of spiritual weight in the faith community.

In addition to its great growth through migration, membership in the indulged meeting for worship grew through membership requests. These requests came from two sources: disowned Friends who had come to Upper Canada with family and friends and convinced Friends who were converted to or convinced of the principles of Quakerism.[38] The first large group of requests to come from Yonge Street occurred in March 1803 when five families, representing thirty-three people, requested membership.[39] The efforts to co-ordinate visitation to all of these families was immense and remained unfinished for many months. More requests were added later that year, with total requests for the year equalling forty-seven individuals.[40] When the business of visiting all of these families had still not been accomplished almost a year after the initial requests had been brought forward, the committee from Pelham appointed three members from Yonge Street to assist them. Wing Rogers, Hannah Rogers and Mary Rogers, all members who lived on Yonge Street, were added to the committee. The following month, in March 1804, many of those who had requested membership were accepted. The committee, with its added local members, was then able to deal more efficiently with those who required further visitation.

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[38] Some disowned Friends did go through the process of acknowledging their error to the meeting that had disowned them. For instance, Isaac Rogers, who had come to Upper Canada from Vermont with Timothy Rogers, had been disowned years prior to his moving to Vermont. His acknowledgement was sent to the Pembroke Meeting in Massachusetts. After a written acknowledgement was submitted to the meeting along with the recommendation of weighty Friends from Yonge Street, his certificate was forwarded 01-08-1804. It arrived at Pelham 04-09-1805. CYM Archives, Box 20, File 10 and Pelham Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1799-1806, 04-09-1805. Distance obviously made this a lengthy process. As a result, many who had been disowned chose instead to apply to the Pelham Monthly Meeting directly for membership.

[39] Those requesting membership included: John Dunham; Susannah Pearson, for herself and two children; Olive Rogers, for herself and four children; Jacob Moore and his wife for their four children; Phillip and Rachel Phillips for themselves, five children and a bound boy, Peter Hunter; and John and Lydia Eves for themselves and ten children. All of the adults were either married to a Quaker or had been birthright Quakers at some time. Pelham Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1799-1806, 02-03-1803.

[40] This was indeed a high-point in membership requests at Yonge Street; in 1804 eight requests for membership were recorded, and in 1805 there were six requests. Many of these requests came from parents who desired membership for their children, obviously the result of parents who had marrying out. Some requests, based on convincement, came from individuals married to a disowned Quaker. This was the case with the request of David Willson in 1803. There are also cases of individuals requesting membership, on the grounds of convincement, who were obviously courting a particular Quaker, as a marriage proposal appears in the minutes very soon after the convinced member was accepted. This was the case with Enos Dennis, who applied for membership on 17-04-1806. In February 1807, he and Sarah Hughes, a daughter of Job and Eleanor Hughes, placed their marriage proposal before the meeting. Yonge Street Preparative Meeting of Friends, 1804-1862, MS 303, Reel 26, B-2-76, 17-04-1806 and 05-02-1807. By far, the largest family request, on the basis of convincement, came from the McLeod family. Murdoc McLeod had immigrated from Scotland, settled in the Yonge Street area, and married Rachel Terry from East Gwillimbury township some time prior to 1790, when their first child was born. On 10-12-1807, Murdic McLeod requested for himself and family, which included his wife and ten children. Two more children,

The addition of so many members and the appreciation of the great distance between Yonge Street and Pelham drew the attention of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. Yearly Meeting extracts from 1804 indicate the concerns of the leadership with the particularly isolated nature of the meeting at Yonge Street and its distance from any other meeting in either Upper Canada or the United States. As a result of its concerns, it was decided that Yonge Street be granted preparative meeting status with the special authority to approve marriages.[41] Pleased with their new status, Friends at Yonge Street held their first preparative meeting June 21,1804.[42] The changed status of the meeting coincided with a peak in migration; in 1805 certificates for ninety-one individuals were accepted by Pelham Monthly Meeting, on behalf of the preparative meeting at Yonge Street.[43] So

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born afterwards, became birthright members. The McLeods became very active in the Yonge Street Meeting, before leaving to join David Willson's Children of Peace in 1812.

[41] Pelham Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1799-1806, 06-06-1804. This had been a desire of Yonge Street Friends for some time. The request for a preparative meeting at Yonge Street had originally been made 06-10-1802.

[42] Yonge Street Preparative Meeting of Friends, 1804-1862, 21-06-1804.

[43] This does not represent the exact number of individuals who migrated to Yonge Street that year. One certificate that was received that year was for one of the original Vermont settlers in 1801. A certificate for John Widdifield and family was not accepted and was returned. However, John Widdifield and his family remained in the community. Moreover, there were many more individuals who came who did not deposit their certificates that year, or were disowned members of the Quaker community who migrated with family and friends. However, this figure is a good indication of the swell of Quakers who arrived that year. The previous year, 1804, certificates for fifty-one Friends were deposited at Pelham; the following year, 1806, thirty-two members presented their certificates at the Pelham Monthly Meeting. Pelham Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1799-1806.

encouraged were Yonge Street Friends with their steadily increasing numbers that they forwarded a request for a monthly meeting to Pelham in January 1805.[44]

Close family and community ties were a vital component of the rapid growth of the Yonge Street meeting. With the exception of three certificates issued from monthly meetings at Pembroke, Massachusetts; Danby, Vermont; and Mount Holly, New Jersey, all of the certificates recorded in 1805 were issued by Muncy or Catawissa Monthly Meeting, both in Pennyslvania. The effect of chain migration and extended kinship groups is particularly apparent among the Friends of these two Pennsylvania meetings and had a permanent impact on the history of Friends in Upper Canada. Consider the Armitage-Doan family.

Amos Armitage, his wife Martha Doan Armitage and their four young children arrived in Upper Canada in May 1804. They purchased one hundred acres of land (west half, Lot 92, Concession 1, Whitchurch township) in October of that year and the following February were able to get to Pelham to deposit their certificate of membership which had been issued by the Catawissa Monthly Meeting. Armitage was extremely impressed with his new home and waxed glowingly about it in a letter to his friend Charles Chapman, back in Catawissa:

> Esteemed Friend, I hope by this time thou hast got rid of thy property on that barren mountain and art making ready to come to a land as it were flowing with milk and honey as our friend, Thomas Hilborn, has expressed it since his arrival here. He is wonderfully taken with the country and is going to settle in the new township [Uxbridge]. At this time the surveyor is running it out into lots. It is about twelve miles distant from this place. Levi Hughes is at present settled on his father's place. Friends are coming in very rapidly and I am in the belief that we shall have a beautiful settlement here. The day before yesterday we were united in request for a Monthly meeting and if sanctioned at Pelham, then it will be forwarded for the approbation of the next Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia where we have no doubt of the concurrence. We are at this time about forty

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[44] Yonge Street Preparative Meeting of Friends, 1804-1862, 17-01-1805.

> families, middling compact together. Almost ever since Jud [Job] Hughes left there I have been fitting a mill for merchant work for Joseph Hill, and it will take me some time yet to finish it, then I shall have recourse to sugar trough making etc. We have fine pleasant weather and good sleighing but last week was middling cold. The snow is about five inches deep at present. I have a tolerably good prospect of carpenter work for the ensuing summer. But we are hard set to get boards fast enough. As yet we have but one saw-mill in our neighbourhood. Next spring there is to be another erected. Please to remember me to my esteemed friend Isaac Wiggins. Tell him I am in some hopes that he may or will join in the general evacuation of that place. I have likewise sent a letter to my friends in Bucks County which I hope thou wilt take care to forward the first opportunity. The price of wheat here is at present four shillings cash price at York … now I may inform thee that there is some alteration made this winter respective of Friends deeds. The oath is left out and the word affirmation put in lieu thereof, and a great many deeds printed on purpose for Friends. We are much favoured in health. Martha sends her love to Elizabeth.[45]

The Chapmans obviously did not need much more encouragement; by December 1805, Charles and Elizabeth Chapman and seven of their nine children had deposited their membership certificates at Pelham, suggesting their arrival in the summer of 1805.[46] Martha Doan Armitage's ageing father was also swayed by his son-in-law's glowing reports of the bounty of Upper Canada. Tired of seeing his family spread further and further apart in their attempt to look for affordable farmland in Pennsylvania, seventy-five-year-old Ebenezer Doan Sr. led six of his seven surviving children and their families to Upper Canada in 1808.[47] The extended Doan clan would be instrumental in the first schism in the Yonge Street Quaker community that took place in 1812.

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[45] Amos Armitage to Charles Chapman, quoted in *Genealogies of the Builders of Sharon Temple*, 3rd ed. (Sharon Temple Study Series No. 1), 9.

[46] The Chapmans were not able to get land near Yonge Street and settled in Uxbridge township to the east of Yonge Street. There, along with other families from Catawissa such as the James, the Goulds and the Hilborns, they formed the core of the Quaker settlement in that township.

[47] Among the families with Ebenezer Doan Sr. were his sons Ebenezer Jr. and John. The Doan brothers, along with their eldest brother, Jonathan, who remained behind in Pennsylvania, were very skilled carpenters. Ebenezer Doan Jr. became the Master Builder of Sharon Temple, one of Ontario's most unique architectural structures. John Doan was the craftsman who built the intricately designed ark that rests in the centre of the Temple.

The request for monthly meeting status was granted in 1806. Yonge Street was "set off" from Pelham and the first monthly meeting was held September 18, 1806 in the log addition on Rufus Rogers's home.[48] Like Pelham, Yonge Street was not under the authority of a quarterly meeting but reported directly to the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.[49] One of the first orders of business for the new monthly meeting was an effort to reconfirm the relationship of the meeting to the state. An official address to Lieutenant-Governor Francis Gore was presented to the meeting for approval. Timothy Rogers and Amos Armitage were then appointed "to attend on the governor therewith." Yonge Street Friends were evidently eager to continue the positive relationship with the governing officials that had been started by Rogers in 1800. Conscious, however, of their location on a major military artery that connected the capital to Lake Simcoe, the address to Gore was also a firm reminder of the Quakers' position to any suggestion that they may ever have to participate in military activities:

> Notwithstanding, we are a people, who hold forth to the world a principle which in many respects differs from the greater part of mankind, yet we believe in our reasonable duty as saith the Apostle: 'Submit yourselves unto every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be the king as supreme, or unto governors as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil doers and for the praise of them that do well'; in this we hope to be his humble and peaceful subjects. Although we cannot for conscience sake join with many of our fellow mortals in complimentary customs of man, neither in taking up the sword to shed human blood…we feel concerned for the welfare and the prosperity of the province, hoping thy administration may be such as to be a terror to the evil-minded and a pleasure to them that do well, then will thy province flourish and prosper under they direction, which is the earnest desire and prayer of thy sincere friends.[50]

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[48] Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 1806-1818, MS 303, Reel 27, B-2-83, 18-09-1806.

[49] Under the new monthly meeting, indulged meetings for worship were soon requested by settlers who lived at some distance from Yonge Street proper: Whitchurch in 1804, East Gwillimbury in 1807, Uxbridge in 1809 and Pickering in 1810 These requests reflect the number of settlers who moved into each of these areas.

[50] Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 1806-1818, 18-09-1806.

Gore responded with his thanks for their "dutiful address" and good wishes. He also asserted his assurance that he had no doubts that they would "prov[e] peaceful and good subjects to his Majesty as well as industrious and respectable members of society."[51] A sense of confidence pervaded the Yonge Street community as Friends continued to develop their community. Although Upper Canada was a howling wilderness, they had every reason to believe that it had indeed been a divinely-inspired decision to establish a meeting there.

Although there were regular disciplinary issues to deal with, excitement in the meeting was high. In 1807 Asa and Mary Rogers deeded two acres of land on the south-east corner of lot ninety-two, concession one, King township for the purpose of building a new meetinghouse. Friends at Yonge Street also led the way in pressing for unification of the Upper Canadian meetings. Members were appointed from Yonge Street to join in committee with members from both Pelham and Adolphustown to request a biannual meeting which would have the powers of a quarterly meeting.[52] That this meeting was to gather only twice instead of four times a year indicates that distance and difficulties of travel were issues that Friends in Upper Canada addressed readily. The committee met and considered the logistics of undertaking unification. They reported to the yearly meetings of Philadelphia and New York that it was their "united sense" that it was indeed "consistant [sic] with the openings of truth for [them] to be united and placed in a capacity to meet together twice in a year once in the manner of a Quarterly and once in that of a Yearly Meeting in order to decide on appeals and other matters of weight and importance in the Church...."[53] The strength of the women in the Yonge Street meeting is apparent on this document. Thirteen members representing the three meetings signed it. All five women who were signatories were from Yonge Street: Martha Widowfield [Widdifield], Eleanor Hughes, Martha Armitage, Phebe Winn and Edith Phillips. The reports of visiting ministers Gulielma Widdifield and Sarah Pope in June 1808 and Ann and John Simpson in August apparently had an impact on the deliberations of the yearly meetings.[54] Both Philadelphia and New York yearly meetings sent representatives to Upper Canada in the autumn of 1808 to discuss the unification of the three Upper Canadian meetings.[55]

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[51] Ibid., 16-10-1806.
[52] Ibid., 13-01-1807.

At that same meeting where the unification of the Upper Canadian meetings was discussed, the necessity of constructing a larger meetinghouse was also raised. Those appointed to propose a size and cost for the structure reported the following month that a one-storey high frame house should be built, measuring thirty-five feet in width and seventy feet in length.[56] The estimated cost for this venture was 1750 dollars; four men were appointed to draw subscriptions from members. The anticipation of moving into more spacious quarters must have been intense as the next month the committee of four men was able to report that they had successfully raised 1600 dollars in subscription. The buzz of excitement that this no doubt created in the community is not recorded in the minutes, which recorded simply, "the work will go forward."[57] By this time, the meeting was strong enough that Friends from Yonge Street began to make ministerial trips to other meetings. In October 1806 Job Hughes visited Friends at Adolphustown; he was accompanied by Jacob Winn. The following summer, Jacob Winn and Rufus Rogers made a similar trip to Black Creek, near Pelham.[58] That same year Timothy and Sarah Rogers travelled through Vermont, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania attending a great many meetings. They also retrieved their son Timothy from Friends' School at West-town in Philadelphia. He came back to Upper Canada with his parents and offered to teach school for Friends, something the Yonge Street Quakers had been wanting for a long time.[59] Rogers also brought a package from the yearly meeting that contained books and paper for the use of the school.[60] The meeting began to expand geographically as well. Timothy Rogers, who in reference to himself noted that "it is well known I have had a great gift from the Lord to settle new country" decided to strike out yet again. Never one to lose an opportunity, Rogers took up land in Pickering Township, east of York on Lake Ontario. He built the first grist and saw mills in the township on Duffin's Creek.[61]

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[53] Box 21, unmarked file, CYM Archives.

[54] Gulielma Widdifield from Philadelphia and Sarah Pope from New Jersey were recorded in the women's business meeting 18-06-1808. Ann Simpson attended the women's business meeting 18-08-1808; her husband John attended the men's business meeting the same date. Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, Women, 1806-1817, MS 303, Reel 49, C-3-110 and Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 1806-1818, Reel 27. It is Timothy Rogers who recorded in his journal the impact the visit of these ministers, *Journal of Timothy Rogers*, 112.

[55] Yonge Street Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1806-1818, 13-10-1808. The representatives were: John Brown, John Shoemaker, Hannah Fisher and Rebecca Archer from Philadelphia and Rueben Haight, Ann Shipley and Anna Merrit from New York. Appointed from YSMM to confer with the representatives were: Amos Armitage, Asa Rogers, Isaac Phillips, Isaac Wiggins, Israel Lundy, John Doan, Thomas Linvill, Lewis Powel, Phebe Widdfield, Mary Pearson, Eleanor Hughes, Phebe Winn and Elizabeth Chapman.

[56] Ibid. Those appointed were: Amos Armitage, Nathaniel Pearson, John Doan, Thomas Linvill, Rueben Burr, Murdic McLeod, David Willson, Lewis Powel, Stephen Chapman, Theodore Winn, Amos Hughes, Enos Dennis, Joseph Hill, Charles Chapman, Isaac Phillips, Rufus Rogers, Obadiah Griffin, and Abraham Webster.

Rogers's decision to pull up stakes once again may have been purely economic, for he certainly became even more prosperous in Pickering. However, around the same time, his journal notes the arrival of Job Hughes and Jacob Winn, both recommended ministers and his own exclusion from the "select" meeting, which formed shortly after their arrival.[62] As his authority as 'founder' of the settlement would have diminished in the presence of the spiritual authority of these men, it is entirely possible that Rogers felt crowded out and decided the easiest solution was to begin again with another settlement. However, in 1807 Rogers recorded that for Friends on Yonge Street all was well. The meeting had gone from being a "short time back a wilderness [and was] now the most in number."[63] The rough but secluded comfort of the Quakers on Yonge Street was about to end.

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[57] Ibid., 17-11-1808 and 15-12-1808.
[58] Ibid., 16-10-1806, 13-11-1806 and 12-06-1807.
[59] *Journal of Timothy Rogers,* 108.
[60] Yonge Street Preparative Meeting of Friends, 1804-1862, 17-07-1806.

The challenges faced by the Yonge Street meeting in the next few years came quickly on the heels of the excitement that surrounded the bustling activity of a growing Quaker community. In 1805 Henry Widdifield, an important and valued minister, passed away. Then in 1807, Job Hughes, one of the most active members and also a valued minister, who along with Jacob Winn and Timothy Rogers had been largely responsible for presenting the case for unification of the Upper Canadian meetings, died in Fishing Creek, Pennsylvania, while attending the yearly meeting as the appointed representative.[64] Finally, Timothy Rogers set off with his family to a new township where he was looking forward to spending his later years in relative comfort, knowing he had contributed greatly to his dream of the unification of Friends in Upper Canada.[65] Shortly

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[61] *Journal of Timothy Rogers*, 109.

[62] The 'select' meeting refers to the Select Meeting of Ministers and Elders, which oversaw the meeting's ministry.

[63] *Journal of Timothy Rogers*, 109.

[64] Probate Court Records, MS 638, Reel 86, Job Hughes, PAO. See also *Genealogies of the Builders of Sharon Temple*, 31. Dorland mistakenly places the arrival of the Hughes in Upper Canada in 1807, instead of 1803. He also reports his death incorrectly as being in 1810, rather than 1807. Dorland, *The Quakers in Canada*, 95.

[65] Shortly after he moved to Duffin's Creek, Timothy Rogers had a vision that a yearly meeting would be established "within ten miles of this spot where I live." *Journal of Timothy Rogers*, 111. The Canada

after moving to Pickering, Rogers was appointed to attend the yearly meeting in Philadelphia as the Yonge Street representative. Although he was concerned that a prolonged absence would be very costly to his business, Rogers accepted the commission and left for Philadelphia. He was away for six months, a time he found himself "so wonderfully favoured" spiritually that he was reluctant to return.[66] However, the yearly meeting had entrusted him with two hundred dollars to complete the building of the meetinghouse and he was eager to turn over the money to the meeting's treasurer.[67] He arrived back in Upper Canada in the summer of 1809 to find his community of Friends devastated by an unknown epidemic.

No one is certain exactly what disease swept through Yonge Street and Pickering in 1809. Whatever it was, it struck the community harshly, and almost destroyed some families. The exact number who died was not recorded in Friends' records; Rogers mentioned that thirty Quakers, known personally by him, died about this time. The Vermont families seemed to be hit the hardest. Of those families, Timothy and Sarah Rogers's was struck exceptionally hard. They lost five daughters, two sons, one son-in-law, and three grandchildren. So traumatic was it for Sarah Rogers that her husband recorded: "my wife entirely gave up business, my family almost half gone."[68] No records survive in Sarah Rogers's hand that tell us how she felt, but her son Wing Rogers's reminiscences concur with his father's:

> my Parents buried seven children out of the fourteen & most of them were maried [sic] & had families, which was a great trial to them both, but particularly so, with mother, I was young but I can remember of seeing her meet the neighbour wimin

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Yearly Meeting, which opened in 1867, did indeed hold its first meeting in the meeting house in Pickering, within ten miles from Timothy Rogers's old homestead.

[66] *Journal of Timothy Rogers*, 110.

[67] Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 1806-1818, 13-07-1809.

[68] *Journal of Timothy Rogers*, 112.

> [sic]& talking of her troubles & great loss, with the tears runing [sic]down her aged face, & comparing it to Jobs troubles.[69]

The sense of family desperation created by this epidemic was recorded by Phebe Winn, who lost her husband, Jacob, and two of her children:

> we told one of our sons that he [Jacob] believed he was getting the Fever and thought if he did he should not recover and added and may be thy brother Theodore may die likewise and do thou be kind to thy mother   soon after he took his bed   I was myself sesd with the same disorder and lay in the same room with him his bodyly pain was great but when ever he was askt how he felt his answer was a [one word illegible] as if I must keep in the patience and to a Friend who had attended him through a very trying night he said oh it is a good thing to keep in the patience…the Last time that I was led to his bed which was on the Day of his departure he knew me and Salluted me with Great Effection and …on the Evening of the same Day he expired the tenth day of Fourth month 1809 and was buryd the twelfth in Friends burying Ground Yonge Street upper Canada in the sixty fifth year of his Age.[70]

The loss was more than some could cope with. According to Timothy Rogers, John Allen Haight "became touched in his mind," and his principles became more deistic.[71] Wing Rogers Jr., who lost his wife Hannah, requested a certificate of removal to return to Monkton Monthly Meeting in Vermont. Phebe Winn, who had been appointed an elder in February of 1809, also left Yonge Street. She took her minor son Ebenezer and also returned to Monkton Monthly Meeting.[72] In a short period of time, the meeting lost a number of important weighty Friends.

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[69] "The Journal of Wing Rogers," in William A. McKay, *The Pickering Story* (Pickering Historical Society, 1961), 185.

[70] Jacob Winn file, CYM Archives. All spelling as in original.

[71] *Journal of Timothy Rogers*, 12. Rogers notes that he had "some opportunities" with Haight which seemed to be to "good effect." Whether this was indeed the case or not, he must have renounced his deistic principles, as he was acknowledged a minister in 1818 and in the 1828 Hicksite/Orthodox split was firmly in the orthodox camp. Yonge Street Meeting of Friends, 1806-1818, 17-12-1818.

[72] Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 1806-1818, 14-09-1809 (Wing Rogers Jr.) and 17-01-1811(Phebe Winn). Phebe Winn returned to Yonge Street the following year, bringing with her her son Jacob and his wife Ruth and their four children. Nicholas and Esther Brown and their two sons returned from Vermont as well at the same time. Phebe Winn was once again appointed an elder 18-03-1813.

In fact, so many died in the epidemic that it was decided to decrease the size of the meeting house, which was then under construction. After a rather disastrous year, the committee in charge of the building reported that "taking the matter into serious consideration they were united of the belief that in our present situation, it would be most advantageous ... not to build it so large as was first proposed by ten feet in length and five in width."[73] Reeling from the deaths in their community, Friends also found themselves forced to address their position on military service. Although the Yonge Street Quakers felt certain that their position had been endorsed by Lieutenant Governor Gore in 1806, they discovered that the law would only support the non-involvement of Quakers in military activities if they paid a fine in lieu of service. Although some of the other pacifist sects, such as the Mennonites and Tunkers, supported this approach, the Quakers refused to do this because it transgressed the peace testimony.[74] As a result, their property was seized. Although all Upper Canadian Quakers were affected by this decision, the Yonge Street Quakers were affected most severely. The Committee for Sufferings reported that between February 1808 and January 1810, property in the amount of £ 243:11:6 ½ New York currency had been seized for military fines and eight Quakers had each suffered one month imprisonment on the same charge.[75]

The only bright spot in these trials was the unification of the three Upper Canadian meetings into the Canada Half-Year's Meeting, a meeting vested with the power of a quarterly meeting. The two yearly meetings did not feel that the three hinterland meetings were ready for yearly meeting status yet. However, the unification allowed the meetings to carry on appeals and other business that had been slowed to a great extent because of the distance of the groups from the yearly meetings, to whom they reported. The biannual meetings were held alternately at West Lake, near Adolphustown, and Yonge Street and were under the authority of the New York Yearly Meeting. Because Yonge Street was moved under the jurisdiction of New York Yearly Meeting, a new Book of Discipline was required. All old books were turned in and the new Discipline was produced. The efforts of the Yonge Street Quakers to produce a unified meeting in Upper Canada was bearing fruit. However, this was the most unified the Upper Canadian meetings would ever be, especially at Yonge Street. At the time of unification, there were roughly 1,000 recorded members of the Society of Friends in Upper Canada; the Yonge Street meeting was the largest of the three.[76] However, the struggles the Yonge Street meeting faced in the next thirty years resulted in the splintering of the local faith community and the North American faith community from which it drew.

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[73] Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 1806-1818, 18-01-1810.
[74] Peter Brock, "Accounting for Difference: The Problem of Pacifism in Early Upper Canada," *Ontario History* 90, 1(Spring 1998): 22.
[75] Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 1806-1818, 18-01-1810.

Some families never recovered from the death of members during the first epidemic. For instance, Timothy Rogers commented that his wife, Sarah, "kept along in a strange way." She was so affected by their huge loss that her needs kept Rogers from carrying out duties appointed to him in the meeting. No doubt sick and tired of the frontier that had claimed so many of her children, Sarah Rogers told her husband that if he would get her a "good house" she might improve. In early January 1812, the couple set off for York "to get some things she wanted to begin said house." On their way home, they stopped to visit a relative of Sarah Rogers. There she took ill and died six days later. Timothy Rogers was completely bereft. As he said, "now I was left to move in my new house, with four children, two oldest sons settled at Yonge Street, and Timothy disowned and gone to the States. Do you think tongue can tell my trouble—or pen write my grief?"[77] Unfortunately, Sarah Rogers's death was one of the first in a second epidemic that claimed many more lives in the Quaker community in 1812-1813. As with the first epidemic, no one can say what it was. Timothy Rogers recorded "that first it was called the Typhus fever, but latterly we have had the Measles, by which some have departed this life; but mostly it has been such an uncommon Disorder that it seems to baffle the skill of the wisest and best physicians."[78] Just as the first epidemic killed many weighty Friends, so did this one, leaving great gaps in the "soundness" of the meeting.[79]

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[76] Dorland, *The Quakers in Canada*, 102.

At the same time that this epidemic galloped through the community, diplomatic relations between Britain and the United States had soured to the point that the Americans declared war on Britain in June 1812. Even though they remained neutral in the conflict, the Yonge Street Quakers could not remain aloof. Because their farms were situated on the military road which connected Upper Canada's capital with Lake Simcoe, they were reminded daily of the turmoil surrounding them. Remarkably few members got involved with the conflict. In the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting minutes only six men were reported to have some association with the war effort. Only two of those men, Joshua Vernon and Nathaniel A. Vernon, actually joined the military. While the minutes on Nathaniel A. Vernon note only that he had enrolled in the militia, Joshua had hired a substitute to do requisite militia work on the roads and then "volunteerd [sic] to go after some prisoners on which occasion he went armed and since that he has been employed with authority to impress Teams for the use of conveying military stores…."[80] Two men, Ezekiel James and Robert Willson, hauled cannons and other military stores and paid military fines.[81] Nicholas Brown appeared in the monthly meeting and acknowledged that when his team had been impressed for a military purpose he had driven them himself, "for which he expressed a hearty sorrow and condemned the same as being a violation of [the] Testimony against War."[82] The impressment of teams was evidently one of the greatest difficulties that faced the Yonge Street Quakers. Because of the location of their farms, Friends' horses were likely candidates for hauling military stores and equipment. Apparently, Lewis Powel attempted to prevent the use of his horses for military purposes. His methods, however, were unacceptable and his conscience got the best of him before overseers could bring a complaint against him. He "appeared and offered written acknowledgement for having threatened a man with violence who impressed his team and also using deception to the officers of government to prevent the teams going."[83]

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[77] *Journal of Timothy Rogers*, 113. Timothy Rogers jr. had been disowned by Yonge Street Monthly Meeting for joining the military. Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 1806-1818, 10-12-1807.
[78] *Journal of Timothy Rogers*, 117-18.

One of the most likely reasons for the lack of involvement of the Yonge Street Quakers in the War of 1812 was their preoccupation with the fractious troubles that had been causing dissension within the meeting. These troubles resulted in approximately eighteen families leaving the monthly meeting at Yonge Street and following David Willson to form the breakaway sect The Children of Peace, commonly referred to by contemporary Upper Canadians as the Davidites. The majority of these Quakers came

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[79] During this epidemic, which killed as many people as the first epidemic, elders Isaac Wiggins and Nathaniel Pearson passed away,
[80] Yonge Street Preparative Meeting of Friends, 1804-1862, 08-10-1812 and 07-04-1814.
[81] Ibid., 11-05-1815.
[82] Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 1806-1818, 13-01-1814.
[83] Ibid., 17-11-1814.

from East Gwillimbury where David Willson lived. They set up a meeting near the Queen Street meetinghouse northeast of Yonge Street where they formed the community of Hope. This schism, which was localised in the Yonge Street meeting, was an internal separation dominated by personal disputes over doctrinal differences. In addition to being personally painful to members of the Quaker community, it also removed a number of important Friends from the monthly meeting. Therefore, the Yonge Street Quakers emerged from the wartime period with many of their weighty leaders either dead or separated. However, all was not lost. There were still some important Friends in the meeting. Most of the original settler groups of Rogers, Phillips, Lundys, Widdifields remained steadfast. Phebe Winn returned from Vermont in 1812, bringing with her another son and daughter-in-law. Charles Chapman and David Willson were at loggerheads so frequently over how meeting for worship should be held that both Charles and his wife Elisabeth left the Children of Peace in 1814 and reapplied for membership with the Quakers.[84] When accusations of adultery between David Willson and Rachel Lundy were brought forward, two of the 'weightiest' members of the breakaway sect, Martha and Amos Armitage, reapplied for membership among Quakers in 1816. By 1819 they were re-appointed as Elders.[85]

The internal tensions within the community that brought about the separation of the Children of Peace were also an expression of early underlying tensions between Friends and mainstream society. Having settled in a remote location, they had been determined to insulate themselves from the world and live as autonomously as possible as peculiar people. However, the political framework of Upper Canada rendered this increasingly difficult, especially as non-Quaker settlement expanded in the Friend's neighbourhood. The testimonies of the Discipline were at direct variance with some of the established policies of the colonial government and were bound to lead to friction between Quakers and the state. Even on the remote frontier, Quakers found themselves caught between their faith community and the society in which they lived. Tensions between Friends and the Newmarket elite who had ties to the colonial authorities in York arose early in the life of the community. For example, the story of Joseph Hill is illustrative of the dilemma Friends faced in a community that was increasingly surrounded by non-Quakers. It exemplifies the interactions of community and society and the political and economic impact of Friends' testimonies on their daily lives.

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[84] Elisabeth Chapman reapplied for membership 18-07-1816 and Charles Chapman 17-10-1816. Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 1806-1818.

[85] Martha Armitage acknowledged the error for which she was disowned on 18-04-1816 and was reaccepted on 13-06-1816 and Amos Armitage acknowledged 07-11-1816 and was reaccepted on 06-12-1816. Yonge Street Monthly Meeting Women, 1806-1817, Yonge Street Preparative Meeting of Friends, 1804-1862, and Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 1806-1818.

Joseph Hill was a Friend who immigrated to Upper Canada from New Jersey around the turn of the century.[86] He was an ambitious miller who recognized the economic potential of the Newmarket area. Hill quickly purchased every available mill site along the Holland River. In 1801 he settled at what is now the foot of Main Street in Newmarket where he built a gristmill and store. Hill then became involved in a long-standing dispute with another miller and storekeeper, an Anglican named Elisha Beman. Beman had extensive ties with the colonial authorities in York through his wife, Esther Robinson, the widow of Christopher Robinson, Deputy Surveyor General of Woods and Forests and a late member of the Legislative Assembly. Esther Robinson was also the mother of John Beverly Robinson, the protégé of John Strachan. Both men came to embody the conservative blueprint for Upper Canada.[87] Beman, who earned the moniker Squire Beman, had also seen the potential of the Newmarket area. He first explored Yonge Street in 1799 and had developed an impressive plan to redirect the fur trade between Georgian Bay and Lake Ontario through Lake Simcoe and along Yonge Street. Although this route had always been used as an alternative by the North West Company, the overland journey along Yonge Street was far more arduous than navigating through the Great Lakes which remained more popular.[88] Beman hoped that improvements to Yonge Street and his proposal to operate a Lake Simcoe ferry would divert some of this trade and bring him a tidy profit. Grand schemes aside, Beman was slow on the uptake and did not actually move to the Yonge Street settlement until 1803. By that time, the area was settled by a large group of Quakers. It was in establishing footholds in the Quaker settlement that the Beman and Hill came into direct competition.

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[86] The major outline of Hill's story is found in the meeting minutes of the Society of Friends. However, the finer details of Hills story used here have been fleshed out by Albert Schrauwers, *Awaiting the Millennium: The Children of Peace and the Village of Hope, 1812-1889* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 12-14.

Upon his arrival in the Newmarket area in 1803, Beman built a mill upstream from Hill's. However, he quickly discovered that Hill's millpond interfered with the operation of his own mill. Beman dealt with this by antagonizing Hill and purchasing a crown reserve on which Hill had established a tannery. Because Hill had built this tannery without first officially leasing the property, Beman had no problem evicting him. Beman then tried to purchase Hill's mill. Upset at the treatment he had received from Beman, Hill retaliated by driving up the price. In fact, the price Beman paid for Hill's mill was steep enough that Beman was unable to meet his financial obligations. Many of these obligations were to Quakers in the Newmarket area. One of the Friends adversely affected by Beman's situation was Jonathan Gould. The Goulds had immigrated to Upper Canada from Pennsylvania. However, they had decided they did not like it much and made plans to move to another newly-settled Quaker community in Ohio. Gould worked for Beman for two years in order to earn enough to move his family. The end of his employment period coincided with Beman's financial difficulties. Since he was unable to meet his obligation to Gould, Beman offered Gould two hundred acres of virgin forest land in Uxbridge Township in lieu of cash payment. Although Gould was not impressed with the exchange, he had little choice in the matter and moved his family east to the forests of Uxbridge.[89] Careless financial management and the failure to meet financial obligations were cause for disownment under the Quaker Discipline. Although Beman was not a Friend, word of his dealings with Friends like Gould would have passed quickly through the community. No doubt, Beman's reputation among his Quaker neighbours plummeted along with his bank account.

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[87] Terry Cook, "John Beverly Robinson and the Conservative Blueprint for Upper Canada," in J.K. Johnson, ed., *Historical Essays on Upper Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1975), 338-60.
[88] For a discussion of fur trade routes and waterways see, Barry Gough, *First Across the Continent: Sir Alexander Mackenzie* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1997); S.A. Pain, *The Way North: Men, Mines and Minerals, being some account of the curious history of the ancient route between North Bay and Hudson Bay in Ontario* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1964).

Fortunately Beman was rescued from bankruptcy at the last minute by patronage ties he had cultivated with the colonial government. His Loyalist background, his public service in York, and, above all, his advantageous marriage to Esther Robinson saved his financial hide. In 1806 Beman was made a justice of the peace for the Home District, where the Yonge Street meeting was located. This temporarily dealt with his cash flow problems and placed him on much firmer financial footings. However, this also would have alienated the Yonge Street Quakers. For the colonial government to appoint a man who was viewed by Friends as dishonourable caused Quakers to view the colonial government as immoral and corrupt. The appointment clearly demonstrated that favours and position were granted on the basis of commitment to the colonial appointees who represented the British Crown more than on the basis of merit.[90]

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[89] W. H. Higgins, *The Life and Times of Joseph Gould* (Toronto: C.B. Blackett Robinson, 1887; rpt., Belleville, Ontario: Mika Silk Screening Ltd., 1972).

While Beman was being rescued through patronage ties, Hill built another sawmill on the east branch of the Holland River where he opened another store. About 1810 he took Morris Samson, a non-Quaker from New York, into partnership. Unbeknownst to Hill, Samson had come to Upper Canada deeply in debt. He was pursued by his creditors who swiftly sued Hill to cover Samson's debts. This placed Hill in a very difficult situation since it was a direct contravention of the testimony on oaths for Friends to testify in court. Hill was faced with the possibility of being unable to defend himself in court since he could not swear an oath without contravening the testimony. Defending his property in a court of law could result in the loss of his membership in the Society of Friends. This was not a choice that Hill made lightly; he mulled it over for six months. During this time the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting brought him "under care" as a result of his own financial woes. A committee was appointed to investigate his business and to recommend appropriate action. Unfortunately for Hill the courts did not wait for the committee's recommendation. Hill finally decided to swear the oath to protect his property. By this point, however, sufficient time had passed that he was forced into bankruptcy. To add insult to injury, the meeting subsequently disowned him for failing to fulfil his financial obligations and for taking an oath. Proclaiming himself the victim of judicial robbery, Hill returned to Pennsylvania. At the sheriff's auction, all of his property was purchased by Peter Robinson, Elisha Beman's stepson. The message of elite favouritism would not have been lost on the community of Friends.

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[90] It was not only the Quakers who carried this opinion of the colonial government in early Upper Canada. Even the elite recognised the intensely personal nature of politics in the years before 1812. One's status in the colonial government and elite society was determined by the proximity in which one stood to the lieutenant governor and the favour one could curry from that position. This resulted in extensive jockeying for position among the elite and those who tried to move into elite circles. See, for instance, J.K. Johnson, *Becoming Prominent: Regional Leadership in Upper Canada, 1791-1841* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989); Katherine M. J. McKenna, "The Role of Women in the Establishment of Social Status in Early Upper Canada", *Ontario History* 82, 3 (1990): 179-206; Katherine M.J. McKenna, *A Life of Propriety: Anne Murray Powell and her Family, 1755-1849* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994); S.J.R. Noel, *Patrons, Clients, Brokers: Ontario Society and Politics, 1791-1896* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990); Peter Russell, *Attitudes to Social Structure and Mobility in Upper Canada, 1815-1840: "Here we are Laird Ourselves"*, (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1990); Bruce G. Wilson, "Patronage and Power: The Early Political Culture of the Niagara Peninsula". in Richard Merrit et. al. eds. *The Capital Years: Niagara-on-the-Lake, 1792-1796* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1991), 45-66; and, S.F. Wise, "Upper Canada and the Conservative Tradition", in S.F. Wise, *God's Peculiar Peoples: Essays on Political Culture in Nineteenth-Century Canada*, edited by A.B. McKillop and Paul Romney (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1993), 169-84.

Hill's story is an example of how Friends were sometimes forced to make compromises with the world in which they lived. No matter how earnest they were in their desire to remain a peculiar people, Upper Canadian Friends lived in a colony where their testimonies sometimes placed them in direct variance with the policies of the colonial government. As Friends negotiated the lines between their faith community and their geographic community, their actions were based on judging the situation against their individual interpretation of their identity as Friends. Yet, although individuals identified themselves along a spectrum of Quaker identity that ran from devout to adherent, Yonge Street Quakers in the first generation community still collectively defined themselves as strongly sectarian and separate. Their goal in coming to Upper Canada had been to establish a community in which they could live out their faith as a distinct and peculiar people. Although disease and a schism had lowered their numbers, they remained largely immune to many of the external influences of mainstream society.

Their neutrality and extremely low level of involvement in the War of 1812 demonstrates that, despite occasional tensions and interactions with mainstream society, Quakers in 1814 still defined themselves in sectarian terms. That would change in the second generation community, as social changes and external influences became too intense to resist. However, for the time being the Yonge Street Quakers remained God's peculiar people.

Chapter Two
Of Kith and Kin:
Family and Friends and the Establishment of Community in the Yonge Street Meeting

Without a doubt kinship was probably one of the most dominant factors in the formation and maintenance of Quaker communities, including the Yonge Street meeting. It was fundamental in the establishment of a strong local faith community. Kinship connections played a role in determining which families migrated to Yonge Street in the first-generation community. Moreover, once families had arrived in the Yonge Street area, the community was maintained and strengthened by an increasingly intricate network of familial ties. At the same time, these links in the local community were part of a larger kinship network which attached the Yonge Street community to the expansive transatlantic fellowship of the Society of Friends. Therefore, kin networks reinforced both the local geographic and larger faith communities drawing families together in a tightly-bound web of kinship and faith.

Family was the basis of kinship; it was also an integral component in defining the daily lives of Friends. This was particularly the case within the Quaker community after the mid-eighteenth century.[1] During what has been termed the reformation of American Quakerism, Friends began to withdraw from the larger society, becoming more and more a "peculiar" people.[2] Purification of the Society began with the Discipline; changes to it were directly aimed at the family. Among other things, the marriage testimony was revised and insistence on endogamy within the Society of Friends was rigidly enforced.

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[1] See, for instance, Lousie A. Tilly and Joan W. Scott, *Women, Work and Family* (New York: Routledge, 1989, first pub. 1978).

[2] Jack D. Marietta, *The Reformation of American Quakerism, 1748-1783* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1984).

The changes to the marriage discipline allowed for the immediate disownment of any Friend who married a non-member.[3] Moreover, parents who "connived" at assisting their children in marrying contrary to church discipline could be disowned immediately as well. Therefore, efforts at purifying the Society began in the fundamental unit of society—the family.

The importance of the family reached its zenith among Quakers at the same time that the Great Migration brought Friends to the western American frontier and into Upper Canada. The focus on purifying the Society through the family meant that family life was dominated by what one historian has termed a "constant pursuit of holiness."[4] This pursuit of holiness and increased rigidity in the enforcement of the Discipline meant that devout Quakers became dogmatic and tribalistic. William Frost has argued that, in this period, the Society "was characterized by conservatism and moral harshness."[5] As a result, marriage to a non-Quaker was viewed in the exact same light as adultery. This created an odd tension within the community and strained kinship and community ties along lines of Quaker identity. As Friends were urged to value spiritual kin over family kin, they did so along the spectrum of Quaker identity, which ranged from devout to adherent. Therefore, the purification of the family and the Society was experienced differently, depending on where one fit into that spectrum.

Kinship and the family played an integral role in the construction and maintenance of the Quaker community on Yonge Street. Many of the families who migrated to Yonge Street were already connected by kinship ties. Marriage within the Yonge Street faith community in the first generation expanded the kinship network as Pennsylvanian, Vermont, and New York Friends married each other. This created a stable, growing Quaker community that was able to remain distinct from the society that surrounded it. Ironically, the very success in the first generation in creating a stable, distinct community made it increasingly difficult to adhere to the rules of endogamy that were so strictly enforced in the early nineteenth century. By the late 1820s, well into the second-generation community, most Yonge Street Friends were related by kinship or marriage. Rigid enforcement of endogamy and specific lines of consanguinity meant that finding a suitable spouse became much more difficult. At a distance from other Quaker communities, which may have served as sources of potential mates, Friends began to take partners from their geographic, non-Quaker community. Furthermore, the stability of this faith and kin community was undermined by the insistence on doctrinal uniformity which first fractured the fellowship of Yonge Street Friends in 1812. The fracturing was heavily influenced by lines of kinship. A second schism in 1828 fragmented the ties of family and faith on Yonge Street and broke down the kinship networks that had helped insulate Friends from the world around them. In this way the reformation of the Society of Friends and their attempts to insulate themselves from the world through kinship and rigidity in the Discipline backfired. As families were splintered, the strength of the community as a distinct entity was weakened, leaving room for Friends to form connections outside the faith and kin community.

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[3] The usual procedure of dealing with the transgressor was not required in those cases of marriage which occurred contrary to the Discipline. The offender was immediately disowned and notified later of his or her removal from membership.

[4] Arthur J. Worrall, *Quakers in the Colonial Northeast* (Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1980), 95.

[5] J. William Frost, *The Quaker Family in Colonial America: A Portrait of the Society of Friends* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973), 218.

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Ideally, in the Society of Friends, the goal was for kinship connections and religious ties to reinforce each other, strengthening the religious community among

Friends. In some cases this worked very effectively. Quaker families intermarried and kinship connections overlaid religious connections, giving way to tightly-interwoven communities where religious beliefs were supported by blood relationships. Conversely, extended family connections were sustained through the bonds of religion, creating a system of monthly meetings where family reinforced faith and vice versa. If ever there was an example of an attempt to have family strategies played out on the stage of life, this close attention to endogamy within the Society of Friends certainly qualifies.[6] The strategy, however, was too exclusive and too difficult to enforce without drastically depleting membership numbers and potentially alienating young Friends. Endogamy was not easily achieved; its exclusivity was impossible to maintain. But for a period, the Society tried its best. Historian Susan Forbes has noted that the reforms which began to be instituted in 1755 caused the Society of Friends to enter "its own period of tribalism." This was a social relationship in which the "Quaker owed his allegiance first to his religious group and only after that to his own family."[7] A rash of disownments that took place in the late eighteenth century directly as a result of contravention of the marriage discipline had wrought havoc with actual membership numbers in the Society.[8] Marriages contrary to the discipline accounted for more disownments than any other offence.

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[6] As Cynthia Commachio comments, "the term 'strategies'…denotes conscious, deliberate, calculated effort, the carrying out of specific plans toward specific ends." Cynthia Commachio, "Beneath the 'Sentimental Veil': Families and Family History in Canada," *Labour/Le Travail* 33, (1994): 287. The term family strategies has raised a great deal of debate among historians of the family. For different opinions on the debate, see "Family Strategy: A Dialogue," *Historical Methods* 20(1987): 113-25. A good discussion on the role of family strategies in studies of the family is Tamara K. Hareven, "The History of the Family and the Complexity of Social Change," *American Historical Review* 96, 1(1991):95-124.

[7] Susan S. Forbes, "Quaker Tribalism," in Michael Zuckerman, ed. *Friends and Neighbors: Group Life in America's First Plural Society* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982), 171.

To what extent did spiritual kin supersede familial kin in the Yonge Street meeting? How closely did the entire Society of Friends respond to the reformation of the Discipline? Certainly living in the nether regions of North America hundreds of miles away from the yearly meeting had some impact on the implementation of the Discipline in the first-generation Yonge Street community. The requirement of placing a marriage proposal before the monthly meeting two months in a row meant that distance was a distinct hurdle which stood in the way of marriages for Yonge Street Friends. Before 1804, when Quakers on Yonge Street were given authority to approve marriages, the monthly meeting at Pelham was over one hundred-fifty miles away. Although some couples who presented their proposals at Pelham requested and received special dispensations to marry sooner,[9] some obviously felt the distance overcame their concern with disciplinary hoops. In these cases the couple usually opted to marry "contrary to the order of Friends" and acknowledge their misdemeanour at a later date. These hasty marriages were a threat to the establishment of a stable first-generation community because they resulted in a number of disownments. It was in an effort to reduce them that Yonge Street Preparative Meeting was formally established with the unusual authority of approving marriages.[10]

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[8] David Holden notes that in the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, disownments due to marrying out increased from ten per year to over 750 per year by 1760. David E.W. Holden, *Friends Divided: Conflict and Division in the Society of Friends* (Richmond, Indiana: Friends United Press, 1988), 42.

[9] Joseph Webster and Martha Widdifield from Yonge Street presented a proposal of marriage to the Pelham Monthly Meeting on 07-03-1804. Since the overseers had already determined their clearness for marriage and they had written parental consent, "their remote situation being considered" they were cleared for marriage immediately. Pelham Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1799-1806, MS 303, Reel 40, C-3-44, 07-03-1804.

[10] Extract from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, Pelham Monthly Meeting of Friends, 06-06-1804. This was an unusual investment of authority in a preparative meeting. Yonge Street Preparative Meeting was soon hard at work approving marriage proposals. The first proposal to come to the meeting came from William Pearson and Hannah James in October 1804, only three months after their first preparative meeting. Yonge Street Preparative Meeting of Friends, 1804-1862, MS 303, Reel 26, B-2-76, 18-10-1804.

Quaker discipline was certainly not lax in the wilds of Upper Canada. Regardless of the physical environment in which Friends found themselves, their quest for holiness remained an integral aspect of this Quaker community. In fact, the hardships of pioneer life often accounted for Friends drawing nearer to each other and to their faith. Living as they had for a considerable period on the frontier, these Friends were accustomed to being left to their own devices in terms of the governance of their communities.[11] This was no different in the Yonge Street settlement. However, because they were so isolated in Upper Canada in the early years of settlement, the value of membership in the meeting took on increased importance.[12] For instance, a Quaker living in Philadelphia could actively live as a "Quaker" without membership in the meeting and not feel the sting of non-membership to the same extent that a Quaker in the hinterlands of North America would.[13] For both the Philadelphia and Yonge Street Quaker, lack of membership meant that he or she could not participate in business meetings. Depending on the extent of their desire for involvement, this may or may not have had a significant impact on the daily life of Philadelphia Friends, due to their ability to be involved in other socially-related activities in a large centre such as Philadelphia. However, for frontier Quakers, the inability to participate in business meetings effectively rendered them voiceless in their community and in any input they might have into issues that did affect them on a daily basis. Hence, in the community's first generation one sees a much stronger tendency to acknowledge disownable offences, such as marrying "out of order," than there was in the later years of the second generation.

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[11] Although there was a very large population of Quakers in Philadelphia and other urban centres in the United States, those Friends who migrated to Upper Canada came from the western frontiers of Pennsylvania, Vermont, and New York where they had been living for a considerable period of time prior to their resettlement in Upper Canada.

[12] Considering the average distance between the preparative and monthly meetings in the United States, Yonge Street was considered a very isolated meeting.

[13] For example, the Drinkers, a famous Philadelphia Quaker family, considered themselves Quakers and were considered so by others. However, many of them did not hold membership in the meeting.

Kinship ties for all Quakers were based upon connections of birth and marriage. Courtship and the marriage that led to the uniting of two families were, like everything else in Quaker life, dominated by the rules of the Discipline.[14] The Discipline's rules on courtship and marriage were based on biblical dictates that believers should not be "unequally yoked together with unbelievers."[15] The Discipline laid out clear rules for those considering marriage. First and foremost, those considering marriage were to get the consent of their parents or guardians. Second, prospective partners had to demonstrate that they were clear of any other marriage engagements. To expedite this process, single immigrants who moved away from their parents were advised to get a certificate indicating their freedom to marry prior to their departure. No marriage could take place without these two items. In addition to these rules, there were a number of other regulations that covered specific instances of courtship and marriage. Friends were not to court non-Quakers; nor were they to court any servants or apprentices without the approval of their master or mistress. Those who made proposals of marriage to each other were not permitted to dwell in the same house, from the time of the initial proposal until after they were married. Widows and widowers were not permitted to remarry until a year had passed.[16] If a widow had children, two or more Friends were to be appointed to see that the rights of her children were legally secured prior to her remarriage. Issues of consanguinity within the Society of Friends were also strictly adhered to; marriages of first cousins or between a man and his deceased wife's sister or half-sister were not permitted. Failure to follow this regulation resulted in immediate disownment.

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[14] Peter Ward's examination of courtship, love and marriage in nineteenth-century Canada demonstrates that these events were also governed by rules of tradition and ritual in mainstream society. Peter Ward, *Courtship, Love, and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990).

[15] 2 Corinthians 6:14.

[16] This would secure any issues regarding the parentage or legitimacy of children born to a widow.

Finally, although companionate marriage was common in the Quaker community long before it gained popularity in nineteenth-century society, parents were continually reminded that marriage was a religious not an economic union.[17] It was, therefore, their responsibility as parents to ensure that their children married Quakers. For example, the crackdown within the Society against those who married out had made a serious hole in the membership rolls and the Meeting for Sufferings was clear in pointing the finger at those it felt were responsible and suggested a solution to the problem:

> The increase of the breaches of our testimony, in going from amongst us in the weighty engagement of marriage, being often for want of due care in parents, and those who have the important charge of educating the youth under their trust, early to admonish and instruct them in the principles of truth, and impress their minds with the duty of religiously observing them; as much as possible restraining them from such company as is likely to entangle their affections in an improper manner; we therefore tenderly advise Friends in all quarters to an increasing care over the youth, that the consistency of our principles in all respects with the nature of true religion, may be impressed on their tender minds, by upright examples, as well as by precepts.[18]

Courtship and marriage were of the greatest importance within the faith community of Friends, including those in Upper Canada, for they formed the basis of the family. Quaker leaders were certain that if parents would do their job within the family and teach their children properly, the Society would be stronger, more unified and harmonious. Parents were admonished regularly in the annual epistles about the perils of allowing their children to marry non-Quakers:

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[17] Historians generally agree that companionate marriage became more common in the nineteenth century. Peter Ward, *Courtship, Love and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century Canada.*

> To prevent falling into these disagreeable and disorderly engagements, it is requisite to beware of the paths that lead to them…the sordid interests, and insnaring [sic] friendships of the world, the contaminating pleasures and idle pastimes of earthly minds; also the various solicitations and incentives to festivity and dissipation. Let them likewise especially avoid too frequent and too familiar converse with those from whom may arise a danger of entanglement, by their alluring the passions, and drawing the affections after them. For want of due watchfulness, and obedience to the convictions of divine grace in their consciences, many amongst us, as well as others, have wounded their own souls, distressed their friends, injured their families, and done great disservice to the church, by these unequal connections; which have proved an inlet to much degeneracy, and mournfully affected the minds of those who labour under a living concern for the good of all, and the prosperity of truth upon earth.[19]

The regular repetition of this counsel demonstrates the serious light in which Friends viewed the marriage relationship.

It was not just parents who considered marriage a serious undertaking. The majority of young Quaker men and women expected to marry at some point in their lives. In fact, most married as soon as they reached the age of majority.[20] The Quaker marriage ceremony embodied the tenets of spiritual equality; these were to be transferred to family life.[21] Family life and the socialisation it embodied, in turn, reinforced kinship ties. Therefore, young Quaker women and men approached the topic of courtship and marriage earnestly. They realised that a bad match could be disastrous.[22]

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[18] *Rules of Discipline of the Yearly Meeting of Friends held in Philadelphia. Printed by Direction of the Meeting* (Philadelphia: Kimber, Conrad & Co., 1806), 51.

[19] London Epistle, 1777. CYM Archives, Vertical Shelves.

[20] In his study of Quaker marriage patterns in colonial Pennsylvania, Robert Wells found that the most popular age of marriage for women was nineteen and for men twenty-one. Robert V. Wells, "Quaker Marriage Patterns in a Colonial Perspective," in Nancy F. Cott and Elizabeth H. Pleck eds. *A Heritage of Her Own: Toward a New Social History of America Women* (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1979), 84.

[21] The Quaker marriage ceremony and the certificate which formalised the relationship indicate that spiritual equality was an integral aspect of the family relationship. Both partners came together equally and vowed simply to be faithful and loving to each other until separated by death. There were no promises of obedience or submission. See Appendix Two for an example of a marriage certificate.

[22] It is difficult to determine what constituted a "good" or "bad" marriage for Quakers. There are instances in the minutes of spouses who were accused of adultery; there are also a few cases of spouses using "unbecoming" language in their families. There is only a single recorded instance in fifty years of Yonge Street meeting minutes of spousal abuse. In February 1827 Joseph Sing was accused of striking and

The concern for marrying well continued throughout the century, as seen in a poem composed by Sarah Hilborn for her cousin, Phebe Hilborn, in which she warned of the perils of courtship with the wrong individual:

> Now since we far apart must be,
> Perhaps no more each other see;
> A friendly caution I would leave,
> For fear that thee might be deceived.—
>
> Shouldst thou prefer the married state,
> And think to chose thy-self a mate;
> E'er it's too late to make amends,
> Pray seek for counsel from thy friends.
>
> Thy parent should consulted be
> To see if she thereto agree;
> For often vows are rashly made
> Which for a time should be delay'd.
>
> Do not on strangers place thy heart:--
> Fine speeches they sometimes impart;
> They promise fair they will prove true,
> And then at last they'll bid adieu.
>
> From such delusions do beware,
> And guard thy heart against a snare;
> Their false pretensions don't believe,
> Nor by their flattery be deceived.
>
> Do not on riches place thy mind;
> They fly away with every wind,
> Their pleasures soon will fade away;--
> Then seek for love that won't decay.

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abusing his wife. Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 1818-1828, MS 303, Reel 27, B-2-84, 15-02-1827. There is also one case of uncertainty about poor relief. Apparently the Yonge Street meeting provided assistance to the family of John North from Dublin Monthly Meeting in Ireland. Because he required the assistance within a year of his arrival in Upper Canada, the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting was permitted to apply to North's meeting of origin for reimbursement of the assistance. This resulted in a lengthy three-year correspondence between the two meetings on this matter. It appears that the Dublin Monthly Meeting did not want to reimburse Yonge Street because they felt that North was capable of making a living for himself and his family. The Dublin meeting warned Friends at Yonge Street not to be "taken in" by North who was lazy. However, North's apparent laziness meant that his family required poor relief because they could not live on what he could provide. Miscellaneous Papers relating to Yonge Street, MS 303, Reel 54, D-1-21. Even with these instances of "bad" marriages, marriage must have been a desirable state in the Quaker community. The rate of marriage and remarriage was very high. Once they were of marriageable age, few Quakers remained unmarried.

> Beware on whoom[sic] thy choice is made,
> Remember he must have a trade,
> A Farmer, or some trade posess,
> For to secure thy happiness.[23]

As this poem shows, even though couples were quite free to choose their own mate, the approval of parents, the extended family and the community was of paramount importance. The concern for community approval necessary during the period of courtship was echoed in the marriage certificate, which was signed by at least twelve members of the local meeting. This demonstrated the responsibility that the community assumed for the success of a marriage. In order to increase the odds of success, the community diligently involved itself in warning young people of the potential snares of inappropriate relationships, before they were formalised by marriage. Those involved in unsuitable relationships were "cautioned" by Friends in the community that their relationship would not be sanctioned by the meeting. It was because they were cautioned that disownments could be meted out swiftly if the couple chose to ignore community protocol and married despite the warnings.

In addition to the obvious admonitions that were issued in cases of relationships with non-members, lines of consanguinity were also carefully monitored. This was especially a concern in small, interconnected Quaker communities like that at Yonge Street. Although it was only first-cousin marriages that were officially disownable under the Discipline, marriages of more distantly-related kin were also frowned upon. For instance, Elmer Starr, whose family moved to the Yonge Street community in 1804, remembered that "most everywhere I looked at a girl a second or third time, someone would remind me she was a cousin. Of course, my father and mother were very much opposed to that. My father's oldest brother married a second cousin for his first wife, and a first cousin for his second. That was too much, and mustn't occur in the family again."[24] This put a stop to a relationship with a "nice young lady" in whom Starr was interested as soon as the couple discovered that they were distantly related because their great-grandmothers were sisters.

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[23] Poem from Sarah Hilborn to Phebe Hilborn, September 7, 1845, Scott Museum, Uxbridge.

Starr's difficulty in finding a suitable mate illustrates something of the complex and intricate web that connected the families of Friends at Yonge Street and gives an indication of the depth of ties that joined the community together. As stated previously, kinship provided strength to this particular settlement of Quakers. It also reinforced the local community of faith and the larger community of faith from which these families were drawn. Extended kinship networks drew this community together; they also anchored this particular community into an expansive and intricate web of connections that bound together the transatlantic, but especially the North American, Quaker world. Examining the extent of these ties also provides a glimpse of the destructive aspects of schisms which tore apart families and rent the community into fractious groups.

Kinship ties had a direct impact on both migration to and settlement patterns in the Yonge Street meeting. Through an examination of certificates of transfer to the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, Elizabeth Hovinen has shown that the majority of Quakers who settled within the "verge" of the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting were from Pennsylvania.[25] Although Hovinen's figures do represent the comparative over-representation of Pennsylvanians, they neglect any Quaker settlement that occurred in the Yonge Street meeting prior to its establishment as a monthly meeting. A more accurate representation of the origin of the Yonge Street settlers requires an examination of the Pelham Monthly Meeting minutes as well, since that is where members were required to deposit their certificates prior to the establishment of the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting. Examining certificates of transfer as proof of the makeup of the community is a very inexact science. There were a significant number of disowned Friends who were part of the migration to the wilds of Upper Canada whose names do not appear on certificates. For instance, Timothy Rogers's own list of settlers includes disowned members who were integrated into the community of Friends. Some of these requested membership at a later date; others could not be bothered to do so.[26] Therefore, Figure One, which is a list of certificate transfers, does not account for the origins of those who requested membership after their arrival in Upper Canada. It accounts only for those who were members on arrival.[27] Keeping in mind that some of the certificates were issued for large families, the predominance of Pennsylvanians in the Yonge Street meeting is still apparent, especially in the first-generation community. However, there was less homogeneity in the community than that for which Hovinen contends.

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[24] Jean McFall, "Elmer Starr of Yonge Street." Starr File, CYM Archives.

[25] Elizabeth Hovinen, "The Quakers of Yonge Street," Discussion Paper No. 17, Department of Geography, York University, 1978, 13. According to Hovinen, 43 of 108 certificates were issued by Pennsylvanian meetings.

What is also apparent from a closer examination of the certificate transfers is that kinship connections encouraged chain migration and brought more family and friends to Upper Canada. Much of this immigration followed women. The first-generation

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[26] Two of Timothy Rogers's own sons, Obadiah and James, had been disowned prior to their immigration to Upper Canada. They never did seek readmission to membership. However, there were others in the original list of settlers such as Isaac Rogers and Nathaniel Gager who sought readmission to membership through either acknowledgement or request.

[27] Viewed in this way, the Pennsylvanians remain the dominant group, but they account for half of the certificate transfers rather than two-thirds.

Figure One

Pennsylvania	#	Vermont	#	New York	#	New Jersey	#	Upper Canada	#	Overseas	#
Muncy	43	Monkton	10	Creek	6	Hardwick	3	Pelham	6	Ireland	14
Catawissa	31	Ferrisburg	9	Butternut	5	Rahway & Plainfield	2	Adolphus	4	England	4
Buckingham	12	Danby	8[28]	Farmington	2	Mt. Holly	1	West Lake	4		
Wrightstown	2	Starksborough	2	Hamburg	2			Norwich	3		
Richland	2			Cornwall	1						
Abington	1			Duanesburg	1						
Chester	1			New York	1						
Evesham	1			Rensselaerville	1						
Exeter	1										
Goshen	1										
Horsham	1										
Philadelphia	1										
South Philadelphia	1										
TOTAL	99		29		19		6		17		18

Transfers to Yonge Street, 1800-1828 [29]

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[28] This includes a certificate issued by the Pembroke Monthly Meeting in Massachusetts for an individual living in Danby prior to moving to Yonge Street.

[29] This list of certificate transfers is compiled from the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting Minutes from 1806-1828 and the Pelham Monthly Meeting Minutes from 1799-1806.

Vermont families were well-connected with the Rogers, Winn, and Brown families dominating. In addition to Timothy Rogers and his grown sons, there were the Rogers brothers, Asa, Rufus, and Wing Junior, who married Timothy Rogers's daughters Mary, Lydia and Hannah. Another Rogers in the original settlers list was Isaac Rogers, a first cousin of the previous Rogers brothers. Esther and Mary Rogers, their sisters, also came to Yonge Street, although the exact time of their immigration is uncertain.[30] They married Nicholas Brown and John Allen Haight respectively. Brown was a member of a large family from Monkton Monthly Meeting in Vermont. The migration of Nicholas and Esther Brown to Yonge Street brought, in turn, a large group of Vermont Browns to the Yonge Street area.

Although there were significant connections within the Vermont group, they pale in comparison to those among the Pennsylvanians, who constituted the largest part of the Yonge Street meeting. The large Doan, Lundy, Pearson, Hughes, Chapman and Widdifield families were extensively connected. By mid-century there were few individuals or families who remained in the Yonge Street community who were not connected in some way to one of these families. The Pennsylvania families are prime examples of where extended family immigration seemed to focus on women. They are also examples of the intensely complex nature of interconnections that existed within the Yonge Street Friends community. Consider, for instance, the Job and Eleanor Hughes family from Catawissa in Pennsylvania. Job Hughes and his wife Eleanor Lee Hughes came to Yonge Street in 1804. Job was a recognised minister, and Eleanor was an elder. The Hughes had been a cornerstone of the Catawissa meeting. In fact, Catawissa had

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[30] Esther Rogers married Nicholas Brown prior to her migration to Upper Canada. Mary Rogers, however, immigrated to Upper Canada as a single woman. We know this because her marriage to John Allen Haight

Figure Two

Marriages of the Children of Job Hughes and Eleanor Lee Hughes

Esther Wright m. 1st c. 1769 Job Hughes m. 2nd 1776 Eleanor Lee

Levi Hughes m. 1794 Phebe Carpenter✱

Rachel Hughes	m. 1802 Israel Lundy✱
Sarah Hughes	m. 1807 Enos Dennis+
Abigail Hughes	m. 1809 Judah Bowerman▲
Amos Hughes	m. 1808 Rebecca Chapman+
Samuel Hughes	m. 1811 Sarah Webster+ m. 1819 Mary Doan+ m. 1829 Anna Armitage+
Amy Hughes	m. 1811 Stephen Bowerman▲
Job Hughes	died young
Joel Hughes	m. 1814 Sarah Phillips+

✱ marriage prior to arrival in Upper Canada
+ individual from family originating in Pennsylvania
▲ individual from Adolphustown Monthly Meeting

originally been founded by Job and Eleanor Hughes as Hughesburg. Therefore, it is to be expected that in the re-establishment of community in Upper Canada, the Hughes children would marry within their own Pennsylvanian Quaker community. Indeed, this is generally the case. Figure Two illustrates the marriages of the nine Hughes children. Two married prior to arrival in Upper Canada and one died young. Of the remaining six children, four married children of solidly-established Quaker families in the Yonge Street meeting who had come from Pennsylvania. Two others married Friends from Adolphustown Monthly Meeting.[31]

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is noted in the minutes of the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting.

[31] Since Adolphustown Monthly Meeting originally fell under the authority of the New York Yearly Meeting, it is unlikely that the Bowerman brothers knew the Hughes sisters prior to their arrival in Upper Canada. Therefore, it can be speculated that these marriages between the two meetings were an effort, on the part of both couples, to marry within the Society without crossing lines of consanguinity.

Figure Three

Sample of Marriages of Pennsylvania Friends in the First-Generation Community

Isaac Phillips	**m. 1789 Edith Eves**
Samuel Eves Phillips	m. 1815 Martha Siddons
Mary Phillips	m. 1808 Amos Armitage Jr.
William Phillips	m. 1813 Hannah Dennis
Elisabeth Phillips	m. 1812 Nathan Dennis
Sarah Phillips	m. 1814 Joel Hughes
Anna Phillips	m. 1816 Seth Armitage

Charles Chapman	**m. 1775 Elisabeth Linton**
Susannah Chapman	m. 1807 Samuel Haines
Isaiah Chapman	m. 1831 Ruth Anna Webster
Rebecca Chapman	m. 1808 Amos Hughes
Stephen Chapman	m. 1808 Grace McLeod
Elisabeth Chapman	m. 1807 Benjamin Kester
Mercy Chapman	m. 1807 Robert Willson*
Mary Chapman	m. 1819 William Jones (non-Quaker)
Charles Chapman	m. 1811 Anna Maria Siddons

Amos Armitage	**m. 1785 Martha Doan**
Seba Armitage	m. 1808 Eleanor Siddons
Anna Armitage	m. 1st 1804 Isaac Wiggins Jr., m. 2nd 1829 Samuel Hughes
Harvey Armitage	unmarried
Amos Armitage	m. 1808 Mary Phillips
James Armitage	d. 1794
Mary Armitage	d. 1801
Seth Armitage	m. 1816 Anna Phillips

Henry Widdifield	**m. 1776 Martha Willson***
Mark Widdifield	m. c. 1799 Susannah Hogeland
Henry Widdifield	m. 1804 Phebe Randall
Martha Widdifield	m. 1807 Joseph Webster (3rd cousins)
Mordecai Widdifield	m. 1809 Ann Lundy
Robert Widdifield	m. 1811 Lydia Ray
William Widdifield	m. ? Mary Randall
Joseph Widdifield	m. 1813 Christianna Willson*
Benjamin Widdifield	m. 1813 Matilda Rogers
Mary Widdifield	m. 1809 James Willson*

* These Willsons are not related in any way to David Willson, the leader of the Children of Peace.

A similar pattern emerges in some of the other well-established Quaker families who emigrated from Pennsylvania. For instance, Figure Three illustrates the marriages of the children of Isaac and Edith Phillips, Charles and Elizabeth Chapman, Amos and Martha Armitage, and Henry and Martha Widdifield. These couples were all first-generation immigrants. For the most part, these marriages occurred in the first-generation community. By examining the marriages in these families as well as those in the family of Job and Eleanor Hughes, one finds a total of thirty-two children who married in Upper Canada.[32] Only one of these children married a non-Quaker. Strikingly, in the marriages of the other thirty-one children, only eighteen separate family names are represented. Many of these families like the Websters, Randalls, Lundys, Dennises, Willsons, and Wiggins were already related prior to their arrival in Upper Canada. In all but one of the families there were cases of multiple sibling marriages where siblings from one family married siblings from another. This seemed to be a common practice among Quakers and wove the community together even more tightly. The creation of kinship ties through marriage was an effective strategy for producing a highly interwoven faith community.

By far the most bizarre case in the Yonge Street meeting is seen in the three marriages of Samuel Hughes, one of the children of Job and Eleanor Hughes. First, Hughes married Sarah Webster, the daughter of Abraham Webster and Anna Lundy and the niece of Samuel Lundy who pioneered the Pennsylvanian settlement on Yonge Street. Following her death in 1815, Hughes married his neighbour on Yonge Street, Mary Doan. She was the sister of Martha Doan Armitage. When Mary Doan Hughes died in 1827, Samuel Hughes married Anna Armitage Wiggins, the daughter of Amos and

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[32] This accounts for four children who died young and, therefore, did not marry.

Martha Armitage and the niece of his second wife Mary Doan. This last marriage is surprising given the circumstances surrounding the separation of the Children of Peace, which will be discussed in further detail later.[33]

Extensive intermarriage in this small block of families from one of the preparative meetings tends to support Albert Schrauwers's conclusion that the there was little connection between the constituent settlements of the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting. In his examination of the Children of Peace, Schrauwers argues that the tendency for Friends to settle in kin groups or near former neighbours resulted in the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting emerging really "as a federation of five scattered peasant communities. Each community was roughly homogeneous in locational origin and kinship ties, but few of these same links existed between communities."[34] According to Schrauwers, each of these settlement blocks, which formed around the Yonge Street preparative meetings, including Yonge Street, Whitchurch, Queen Street, Uxbridge and Pickering, was relatively autonomous from the others and few connections existed between them. Schrauwers uses this evidence on settlement patterns, in part, to explain the separation of the Children of Peace.

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[33] This is especially so given the stature that Samuel Hughes held within the Children of Peace, where he was second only in leadership to David Willson. Although Amos and Martha Armitage had originally joined Willson, they left the Children of Peace in 1816 following their discomfort with accusations that David Willson was having an adulterous affair with Rachel Lundy. First Martha and then Amos Armitage requested readmission to the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting and were soon back in their positions of authority as elders in the meeting. That their daughter married a man of such stature in the Children of Peace is surprising, given their decision to leave that sect. However, during the Orthodox-Hicksite schism the Armitages sided with the Hicksites. The connection between Samuel Hughes and the Armitages could explain why, when Hughes left the Children of Peace in 1839, as a result of the sect's involvement in the Rebellion, he and his wife joined the Hicksites. Hughes was soon recognised as a minister among the Hicksites and frequently travelled in the ministry and published numerous pamphlets on religious subjects.

[34] Albert Schrauwers, "The Separation of the Children of Peace," *Quaker History* 79, 1(1990): 9. A more extensive exploration of the Children of Peace can be found in Albert Schrauwers, *Awaiting the Millennium: The Children of Peace and the Village of Hope, 1812-1889* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).

If the argument is based only on settlement patterns, it is quite valid. Consider the famous Doan family.[35] In 1804 Amos Armitage and his wife Martha Doan Armitage left Catawissa and purchased land on Yonge Street in the first concession of Whitchurch Township. The Armitages were not the only family of Friends who left Catawissa that year for greener pastures. Of the thirty-one certificates of transfer issued from Catawissa to Yonge Street between 1800 and 1828, fourteen were recorded in the Pelham Monthly Meeting minutes in a ten-month period in 1805. Martha Doan Armitage's family came north led by her father, Ebenezer Doan Sr. In 1808, when Ebenezer arrived in Upper Canada, he settled with two of his unmarried children on lot 92 in the first concession of King Township, directly adjacent to the meeting house.[36] The other Doan brothers also settled in close proximity to each other. The Rogers family was very similar in their pattern of settlement upon their arrival in Upper Canada. Prior to Timothy Rogers's resettlement at Pickering, various assorted Rogers brothers and cousins owned six contiguous lots from ninety-one through ninety-six on the west side of Yonge Street and four lots from ninety-three through ninety-six on the east side of Yonge Street. Figure Four shows this cluster of Doan and Rogers settlement on Yonge Street in 1808.

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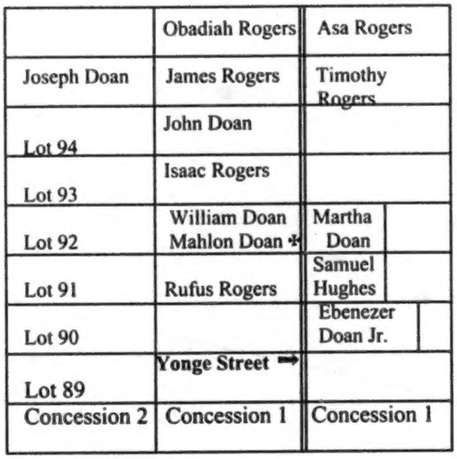
[35] The large Doan family was prominent in the Yonge Street meeting. Most of them joined the Children of Peace in 1812 and moved east to the area around Hope, or present-day Sharon. There they became the largest landowners within the sect. The craftsman skills the Doan brothers learned in Pennsylvania transformed the forest settlements of Friends. In addition to constructing the unique buildings of the Children of Peace, the Doans also helped construct the Yonge Street meetinghouse. The homes designed and built by the Doans were also unique for their quality and craftsmanship. For example, Ebenezer Doan's home, which was moved to the Sharon Temple Historic Site and Museum, has an entire wall of warming cupboards heated by the fireplace. It also has a unique round outhouse.

[36] They purchased this land from Asa Rogers, who moved across the road. John Doan purchased his land from Wing Rogers and Joseph Doan purchased his from James Rogers.

Figure Four



	Obadiah Rogers	Asa Rogers
Joseph Doan	James Rogers	Timothy Rogers
Lot 94	John Doan	
Lot 93	Isaac Rogers	
Lot 92	William Doan Mahlon Doan ✠	Martha Doan
Lot 91	Rufus Rogers	Samuel Hughes
Lot 90		Ebenezer Doan Jr.
Lot 89	Yonge Street ➡	
Concession 2	Concession 1	Concession 1

Sample of Yonge Street Settlement 1808 [37]

King Township Whitchurch Twp. ↑ North

✠ site of meetinghouse, Lot 92, Concession One, King Township

The propensity of Yonge Street Friends to settle in pockets close to former neighbours is most clearly represented in Figure Five. In an examination of settlement patterns, however, we must be careful in concluding that this resulted in homogeneous, distinct settlements with few ties to each other. Certainly it can be concluded that those who joined the Children of Peace were members of an homogenous community of Friends who shared kin and friendship relationships which, for the most part, originated in Bucks County, Pennsylvania.[38] But considering the number of Friends in the Yonge

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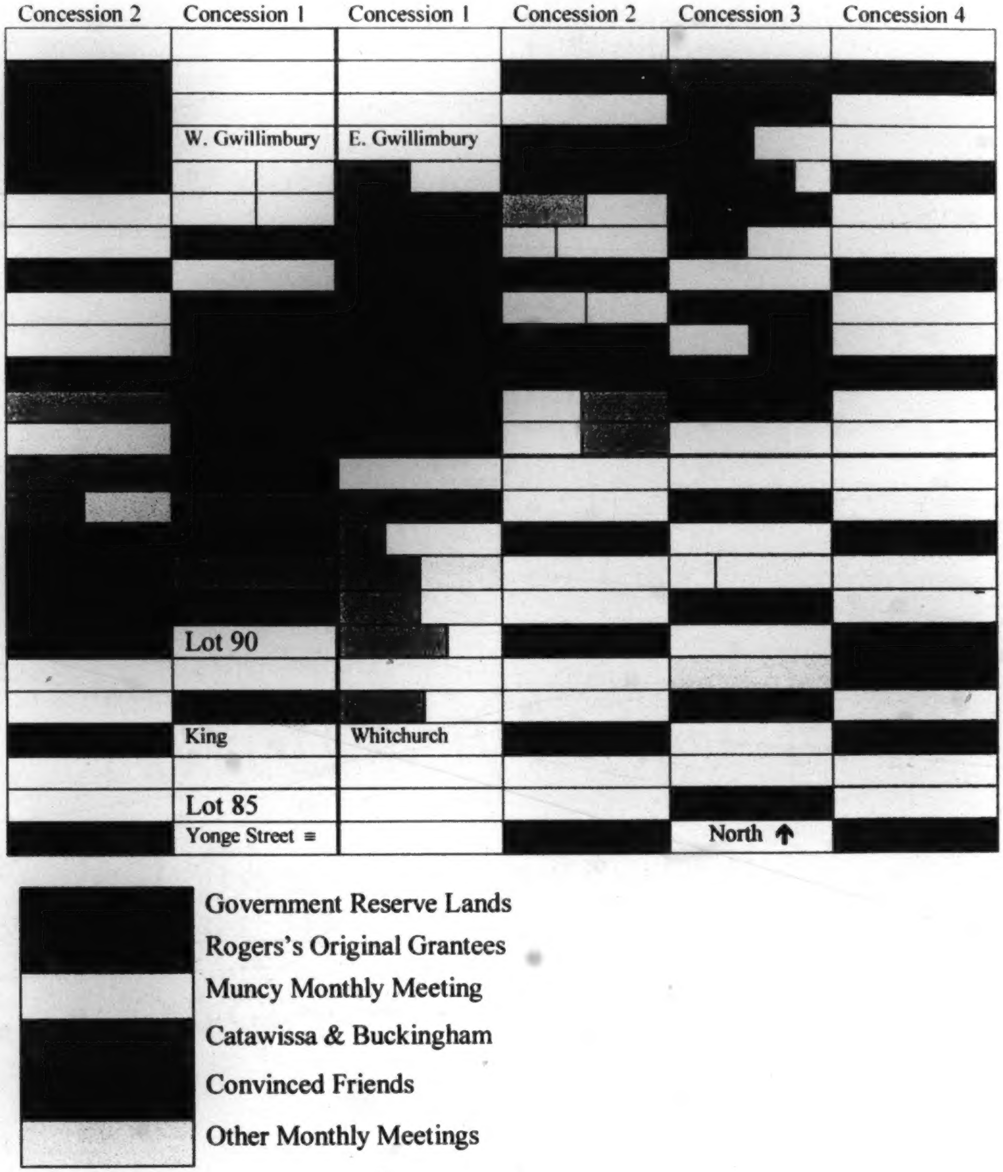
[37] From Land Registry Abstract Index. I am grateful to Albert Schrauwers for providing these records to me.

[38] This, of course, is with the notable exception of the charismatic leader of the sect, David Willson. Willson and his wife Phebe Titus along with Willson's brother Hugh and his wife Mary Titus had come to Upper Canada from Dutchess County in New York. There was an extensive but unrelated Willson (same spelling) family in the Yonge Street meeting which did hail from Bucks County, Pennsylvania. To confuse the Willson families even more, David Willson's mother remarried after the death of her first husband. Her second husband was also John Willson Sr., another unrelated Willson who was a miller and United Empire Loyalist from New Jersey. He was also a good friend of John Strachan's, David Willson's nemesis. *Genealogies of the Builders of the Sharon Temple*, 47.

Figure Five:
The Yonge Street Settlement of Friends, July 1812[39]


Concession 2
Concession 1
Concession 1
Concession 2
Concession 3
Concession 4
W. Gwillimbury
E. Gwillimbury
Lot 90
King
Whitchurch
Lot 85
Yonge Street ≡
North ↑
Government Reserve Lands
Rogers's Original Grantees
Muncy Monthly Meeting
Catawissa & Buckingham
Convinced Friends
Other Monthly Meetings

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[39] Adapted from Albert Schrauwers, "Settlement Patterns of Yonge Street Quakers," *Canadian Quaker History Newsletter* (Summer 1987): 7. This sample of settlement patterns reflect changes from the original settlement. The Catawissa Friends had purchased some of the lots fronting Yonge Street which had originally been granted to Timothy Rogers's settlers.

Street meeting who came from Pennsylvania, what is more noticeable than those who did separate is the number of Pennsylvanians who did *not* become Children of Peace. Therefore, although relationships of kith and kin were important in that schism, there were other factors, such as doctrine, which also played a considerable role in the separation. Moreover, even though the preparative meetings, which composed the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, may have begun as relatively homogenous communities, they quickly developed ties with other preparative meetings through extensive intermarriage.

Distance physically separated the settlements; marriage drew them together into a community defined by faith and kinship. Cases of intermarriage between individuals from the preparative meetings demonstrate that distance, as a result of settlement patterns, seems to have been a minor consideration in the formation of marriage ties. For instance, Elizabeth Hovinen comments that "every group [preparative meeting] experienced more marriages with other groups than within its own."[40] This underscores social interaction between the preparative meetings since, as Hovinen argues, "marriages are a good indication of the lines of social interaction that existed among the various groups of Quakers."[41] Hovinen concludes that the proclivity to marry outside one's preparative meeting had a great deal to do with one's meeting of origin. Therefore, she contends that Pennsylvanians married Pennsylvanians, even if one family lived on Yonge Street and the other family lived twenty miles away through rough bush in Uxbridge. Yet, the fact that Pennsylvanians married Pennsylvanians should not be surprising, given their overwhelming majority in the meeting. This demonstrates that connections established prior to arrival in Upper Canada were maintained after settlement. The importance of endogamy among Friends would have encouraged marriages between families who lived a great distance apart, but knew each other before arrival or knew a neighbour who had children of marrying age. In this way, immigrant families in the first-generation community attempted to reconstruct exiting ties of affinity in Upper Canada.

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[40] Hovinen, "The Quakers of Yonge Street," 17.
[41] Ibid.

In the same way that old neighbourhoods were re-connected through marriage, new neighbourhoods were created and knit together by marriage and kinship. Important marriage connections made in the establishment of the Quaker community at Yonge Street between individuals who did not originate in the same meeting drew together Friends who had come from disparate backgrounds. Many of these marriages can be accounted for by settlement patterns. Friends who lived in close proximity to each other had plenty of opportunities for social interaction. Although there were far more marriages between Friends who had connections prior to their arrival in Upper Canada, there is evidence of sufficient marriages between Friends who came from different meetings to demonstrate extensive social interaction among unconnected families within the meeting. These Friends would have attended the same preparative meeting for business and worship and would have gotten to know each other in that environment. There would also have been the obvious opportunities for interaction among close neighbours through the work "bee" that punctuated pioneer life in Upper Canada. The frontier circumstances in which Friends found themselves and the demands of agricultural life in the bush meant that families depended on each other's assistance in completing common tasks such as planting, harvesting, butchering and raising homes and barns. One pioneer fondly remembered that:

> [s]parse and scattered as the settlers were—some of them living at as great a distance as six or seven miles apart—they assisted one another in 'blazing' and

> 'brushing' roads and cutting pathways through the woods and swamps, and over and around the hills, and at 'logging-bees,' and otherwise in exchanging work from one clearing to another. Their helpful sympathies were awakened towards each other, and Quakers, or Friends, as they mostly all were, composing one little community, their offices of good neighbourhood were extended to each other in constant acts of ready brotherly kindness.[42]

Because "all, male and female, young and old, turned out to help at haying and through harvest-time" single men and women would have had ample opportunities to meet each other outside the context of worship.[43] Moreover, Friends also came together in times of happiness such as weddings or the birth of a child and times of sorrow such as death or the epidemic illnesses that swept through the Yonge Street community. Such occasions drew Friends together from near and far in a demonstration of support and encouragement.

Occasionally some very interesting marriage patterns appeared and demonstrate that mates were often chosen from outside the family's meeting of origin. Such is the case in the children of Levi Hughes and Phebe Carpenter, both from Pennsylvania. All of their children married Vermonters—two married Varney siblings and three married Rogers siblings. However, in some cases, marriage patterns were completely random. Consider Asa Rogers, one of Timothy Rogers's original settlers, whose marriages are illustrated in Figure Six. Rogers was married four times. His first wife, whom he married in Vermont, was a daughter of Timothy Rogers. His second and third wives, Sarah Dennis and Susannah Pearce Pearson, were both from Pennsylvania, while his fourth wife Lydia Ray moved to Yonge Street from New York. Marriages like these between families from meetings of different origin increased stability within the Yonge

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[42] W.H. Higgins, *The Life and Times of Joseph Gould*, (Toronto: C.B. Blackett Robinson, 1887 rpt. Belleville, Ontario: Mika Silk Screening Ltd., 1972), 26.
[43] Ibid., 33.

Street community. Kin ties reinforced religious relationships and, by 1828, few families within the meeting were not related by blood or marriage to other families. Hovinen estimates that about five-sixths of the families in the Yonge Street meeting had some kinship ties to other families in the meeting.[44]

Figure Six
The Marriages and Offspring of Asa Rogers

Asa Rogers (son of Wing Rogers and Rebecca Sherman)
b. January 13, 1780
d. September 3, 1834

m. 1st 1799 Mary Rogers (daughter of Timothy Rogers and Sarah Wilde)
Children:
Zenos Rogers (b. 1800), Anna Rogers (b. 1802), Rebecah Rogers (b. 1804), Elias Rogers (b. 1806)

m. 2nd 1810 Sarah Dennis (daughter of Levi and Sarah Dennis)
Children:
Mary Rogers (b. 1811), Levi Rogers (b. 1813), Dennis Rogers (b. 1815), Esther Rogers (b. 1817), Hannah Rogers (b. 1819), Wing Rogers (b. 1821)

m. 3rd 1823 Sarah Pearson (daughter of Peter and Mary Pearce, widow of Benjamin Pearson)
no issue

m. 4th 1824 Lydia Ray (daughter of Nathaniel and Mary Ray)
Children:
Enoch Dorland Rogers (b. 1825), Daniel Haviland Rogers (b. 1826), Sarah Rogers (b. 1828), Lydia Rogers and Asa Rogers (twins, b. 1831)

Families who had kin relationships in the community were less likely to leave the meeting to move elsewhere. Those without any kinship ties were certainly freer to move on. For instance, in 1807 Ezekiel Roberts and his wife Anna had come from Catawissa with four young children; by 1817 they had requested a certificate of removal to Short

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[44] Hovinen, "The Quakers of Yonge Street," 26.

Creek Monthly Meeting in Ohio for themselves and their eight minor children.[45] Although they had friendship connections within the meeting, they had not yet formed any kin connections, nor had any of their children married. Given that their eldest daughter was sixteen when the left Yonge Street, they may have moved intentionally before she married so they could keep the family together.

The extent of intermarriage among Quakers from different meetings of origin is partly accounted for by the limited choice of spouses available to Friends wanting to marry within the Society. In the Yonge Street community, finding a suitable spouse who fit the rules of consanguinity was not always easy. Nor was travel to another meeting always an option. Unlike meetings in the United States, which were located much closer together, Friends in Upper Canada found it difficult to travel to another monthly meeting to find a mate. Occasionally there were marriages between individuals from very distant meetings. Most common in these cases were marriages between Friends from Yonge Street and those from Pelham or Adolphustown. Very occasionally a male Friend travelled into the United States looking for a spouse.[46] Often these men returned to their meeting of origin to find a spouse. Although some female Friends on Yonge Street did marry Friends in the meetings at Pelham and Adolphustown, certificates of travel indicate that they did not travel expressly for this purpose. Therefore, although women travelled freely in ministry, social mores obviously dictated that they could not travel freely in search of a spouse.

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[45] Yonge Street Monthly Meeting,1806-1818, MS 303, Reel 27, B-2-83, 12-11-1807 and 17-04-1817.

[46] The minutes of the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting from 1803-1828 indicate that eleven men requested certificates for travel for the express purpose of finding a wife. Seven of those were for marriages to women in Upper Canadian meetings, five at West Lake and two at Pelham. Only four were for marriages outside Upper Canada, two to women from Ferrisburg Monthly Meeting in Vermont, one to Alexandria in New York, and one to Rahway in New Jersey. Eight women left the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting as a result of marriages to men from other meetings. Five of the women married men who were members of Adolphus Monthly Meeting, three married members of Pelham monthly meeting. None married men from American meetings.

The difficulty in finding a suitable spouse among Friends in Upper Canada is exemplified by the number of irregular marriages, or marriages contrary to the Discipline that occurred in the Yonge Street meeting. The number of marriages "out of order" far exceeded those conducted according to the Discipline. From 1806, when Yonge Street became a monthly meeting, until the Hicksite schism in 1828, there were one hundred twenty-two marriages "out of order" recorded in the minutes. Adding to this the four recorded in the Pelham minutes prior to 1806, which refer to Friends living at Yonge Street, there were a total of one-hundred-twenty-six marriages accomplished contrary to Discipline compared to seventy-four marriages within the Discipline in the same time period. Most of the marriages that were "out of order," however, occurred within the community of Friends. Usually these were marriages between a member and a disowned Friend who remained part of the community. Even in cases where a Friend married a non-Quaker, many of these marriages occurred between individuals who had lived among the Quakers prior to their settlement in Upper Canada. Consider the four recorded instances of Friends who married children of Timothy and Mary Millard. The Millards were not Quakers but had come from Bucks County, Pennsylvania in 1805. They settled in the Newmarket area where they became prosperous millers, operating a mill in direct competition to Peter Robinson's mill at Holland Landing. Although they were not Quakers, their proximity to Friends in Pennsylvania and then again in Upper Canada made them candidates for marriage when suitable Quaker partners could not be found. [47]

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[47] This applied to those Friends who would be considered "less" devout.

There were a few cases, however, of Friends marrying non-Friends who were close neighbours in Upper Canada. Although they would not have known each other prior to settlement in Upper Canada, geographic proximity played a role in courtship and marriage. The incidence of this occurring was much higher for women than for men, and indicates the difficulty women had, compared to men, in travelling outside the meeting to find a spouse who was a member of the Society. While some Quaker women remained single instead of marrying a non-Friend, a good number chose to marry non-members. These women took their chances with being disowned, hoping they could acknowledge their "offence" and remain in membership. This was the case with women like Jane Hollinshead, who, in 1805, produced the following acknowledgement to the meeting after she married a non-member:

> Whereas I the subscriber (having had a right of membership amongst friends) have so far deviated as to accomplish my marriage contrary to the good order used amongst them, which breach of order, I freely condemn as an error in me, and desire friends may pass it by, and continue me a member, hopeing by futer conduct may render me worthy.[48]

Many of these women obviously decided that the advantages of marriage to a non-member outweighed those of being disowned. Because so many of these marriages were to other disowned Quakers, it can be speculated that the families were considered Quaker in all but official membership.

The difficulty in finding suitable spouses within the meeting meant that newcomers who were of marriageable age were highly desirable. The arrival of a number of Irish and English Quakers in the 1820s added a badly needed injection of new Quaker blood into the Yonge Street community. These women were 'snatched' up quickly. For instance, seventeen-year-old Elizabeth Valentine, who arrived with her widowed father and sisters from Belfast, quickly found herself at the centre of a courting spree. So enamoured was one of her suitors that, shortly after seeing her at meeting for worship, he quickly went through the process of reapplying for membership in the Society in order to win her hand in marriage.[49] So in demand were Quaker women that Elizabeth's sister, Jane, who at twenty-six was "regarded because of her age as being hopelessly 'an old maid'"[50] was married only one month after Elizabeth.[51] The insistence on endogamy and the increasing interrelatedness of the Yonge Street community in the second and third generations meant that it became more difficult to find a spouse who met the standards for consanguinity. The devout continued to look further afield; those who were less devout began to look to their geographic community.

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[48] CYM Archives, Box 23, "Yonge Street," unmarked file. Dated 16-02-1815. All spelling as in original.

Kinship networks were the basis of stability in the first-generation Yonge Street community. They overlaid bonds of faith in a tightly-woven fabric that drew Friends from different meetings together. Yet, in the search for spiritual purity that dominated Quakerism during this period, these connections could also be the source of division. When cracks appeared in the community, links of kinship were natural fault lines in disputes about the faith. When these disputes were based in differences of doctrine, they were particularly destructive because they attacked both sources of unity. A community like Yonge Street, woven together through ties of faith and family, stood to be adversely affected by these sorts of quarrels. An inkling of the potentially shattering effects of doctrinal disputes first became apparent in Yonge Street at the end of the first generation, with the separation of the Children of Peace. This was a small and localised schism; it foreshadowed a breach much bigger.

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[49] Louise Richardson Rorke, "One Quaker Girl." Starr File, CYM Archives. This reminiscence is borne out by the monthly meeting records which record his request for membership and their proposal, which follow in quick succession.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Yonge Street Preparative Meeting of Ministers and Elders, 1828-1835, MS 303, Reel 26, B-2-78, 15-08-1833. Although labelled as minutes from the meeting of ministers and elders, these minutes are actually

In some cases, marriages cemented connections between families from different meetings of origin, which had a lasting impact in the schism. For example, William Doan, the son of Ebenezer Doan Sr., married at a relatively late age. Remember that the Doans were an important founding family in Willson's sect. William Doan married Esther Winn Bostwick, the daughter of Phebe and Jacob Winn, both weighty Friends.[52] Esther Bostwick was a strong and very active member of the meeting in her own right. She was recommended as an elder and went on to be recorded as a minister in the Yonge Street Orthodox meeting. William Doan's marriage to a woman who resolutely opposed David Willson meant that he was one of only two of the Doan brothers who did not join the Children of Peace.

Many women played an important role in the faith choices of their families in this separation. The example of the marriage of John Hugh Willson and his wife Rebecca Burr is illustrative. John Hugh Willson was the nephew of David Willson and a member of the Children of Peace. This had resulted in him being disowned by the Yonge Street meeting. John Hugh Willson and Rebecca Burr married in 1821. Because she married a disowned Friend, Burr was also disowned. However, she refused to join the Children of Peace and soon after their marriage her husband was removed from membership in

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monthly meeting minutes. This mis-labelling is a result of who was holding the record books at the time of the separation in 1828.

[52] Doan was fifty-four when he married Esther Bostwick in 1814; she was thirty-two.

Willson's sect. In these cases, ties of marriage superceded ties of blood.[53] Another important example of women taking the lead in determining the faith of their family is that of the family of Rachel and Israel Lundy. It was Rachel Lundy, one of the founding members of the Children of Peace, not her husband, Israel, who decided that the Lundy family would join David Willson. Finally, in the cases of the Chapmans and Armitages, two of the weighty families who rejoined Friends after initially supporting Willson, both Elisabeth Chapman and Martha Armitage reapplied for membership in the Quaker meeting a number of months before their husbands followed suit.[54]

Certainly kinship played an important role in those families who joined Willson. An analysis of kinship ties in the 1812 schism illustrates the importance of connections of faith and family in the first generation Yonge Street community. When David Willson was struggling with his call to ministry he confided first in his neighbour Rachel Hughes Lundy who supported Willson in his prophetic visions. Lundy played such a pivotal role in the crystallisation of Willson's ideas, one cannot help but wonder at the consequences had Lundy not supported Willson. His prophetic visions may have been remembered as little more than the delusions of a lunatic. However, Lundy's active position in the meeting and her support of Willson's ministry had profound consequences. First, and perhaps most important, Lundy's mother rallied behind her daughter and Willson.

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[53] There is no doubt that Rebecca Burr Willson was a strong-minded woman who was vocal about her convictions. During the Rebellion her brother-in-law, Richard, appeared on her doorstep to enlist his brother's aid in the Queen's cause. Unwilling to allow her husband to be involved in the skirmish, she chased Richard off with a rifle. *Genealogies of the Builders of the Sharon Temple*, 48-9.

[54] Elisabeth Chapman reapplied for membership in July of 1816; her husband reapplied in October of the same year. In the case of the Armitages, Martha Armitage reapplied for membership in April of 1816 while Amos Armitage did not reapply until November of 1816. Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 1806-1818.

Lundy's mother, Eleanor Hughes, was a weighty elder.[55] Eleanor Hughes became one of Willson's most important supporters and stood against other elders like Isaac Phillips and Isaac Wiggins who condemned Willson's ministry.[56] We cannot know the extent to which Eleanor Hughes support of Willson came from her own beliefs or from her support for her daughter, Rachel. Her memorial indicates that doctrinal issues did play an important role.[57] We also know that her support of Willson cost her deeply; she was disowned by her own family in Pennsylvania for joining Willson's group.[58] Hughes support of Willson was no doubt an important factor in many of her children joining Willson as well.[59] One of Hughes's sons was married to a Chapman. This drew the Chapmans from Uxbridge into Willson's fold.[60] The Chapmans were also very close friends with Amos and Martha Armitage and had moved to Upper Canada as a result of their encouragement. The Armitages had joined the breakaway sect early, which may also have been a factor in the Chapmans joining Willson. Martha Armitage's sister,

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[55] Lundy's father, Job Hughes, had been a minister in the meeting and had died in 1807 in Fishing Creek, Pennsylvania on a ministerial trip. Both Job and Eleanor Hughes had been instrumental in getting Yonge Street Monthly Meeting established as an independent meeting in 1807. Lundy, therefore, had generations of influence in the meeting.

[56] *The Ark Papers, Volume 1: The Separation of the Children of Peace* (Sharon Temple Study Series No. 8, 1994) and *Genealogies of the Builders of the Sharon Temple, 3rd revised and enlarged edition* (Sharon Temple Study Series no. 1), passim.

[57] Eleanor Hughes's memorial, written by her son Samuel Hughes stated that "notwithstanding she was an elder amongst them [Friends], according to their order, she openly declared to a number of witnesses, that she could not walk in fellowship with their proceedings. The instance was, a few singular expressions in doctrine, which seemed to bewilder and inflame three quarters of the assembly; but she being unmoved, with a few others, mercifully possessed a quiet mind, (while others appeared in affrighted rage, like waters in a storm) and so continued till her dying day." *Memorial of Eleanor Hughes*, MS 303, Reel 54, D-2-5.

[58] Eleanor Lee Hughes was cut off from any communication with any of the Lee family in Pennsylvania as a result of her decision to support Willson. Ibid.

[59] Two of Hughes's daughters had married Bowerman brothers and were living in West Lake. The only other children not to join with her were her youngest son Joel who married Sarah Phillips, Isaac Phillips's daughter and her stepson Levi who was already thirty-four years old when the family arrived in Upper Canada. According to the Hughes's memorial, her relationship with her children who did not join Willson did not seem to suffer extensively.

[60] The elder Chapmans did not remain members of the Children of Peace for long since Charles Chapman and David Willson constantly disagreed over how and when meetings for worship would be held. By the

Mary Doan, another active women in the Yonge Street meeting, also joined Willson. The involvement of both Doan sisters brought in the Doan brothers, with the exception of William and Joseph. Mary must have moved to Willson's settlement of Hope about this time. She had been living with her brother William on Yonge Street. However, his marriage to Esther Winn Bostwick, one of Willson's opponents, must have caused considerable strain between the women in the household. Shortly after moving to Hope, Mary Doan married Samuel Hughes, the eldest son of Eleanor Hughes. Thus, the "breakaway" Quakers continued to use marriage and kinship as a way of supporting their own faith community.

Despite the schism, the strategies used by Quaker immigrants in the first generation to recreate their community had been successful. A stable, distinct community had been established. In the second generation the community became even more interrelated. By the late 1820s, most of the Yonge Street Quaker community was related to each other by ties of blood or marriage. The success in the first generation created its own set of problems in the second-generation community. It became more difficult to find appropriate Quaker partners. As a result, when more non-Quaker settlers arrived in the area after 1820, a number of second-generation Friends chose to marry outside the community of Friends rather than search for a suitable, unrelated spouse within the community. As the non-Quaker population around the preparative meetings of Yonge Street grew, young people who married outside the Society found that being disowned no longer left them bereft of a community, since the surrounding community, especially the Methodists were eager to accept new members and adherents. When

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end of 1814 the Chapmans had left the Children of Peace and in 1816 were requesting readmission to Yonge Street Monthly Meeting. *Geneaologies of the Builders of Sharon Temple*, 4.

membership numbers declined in the local meetings due to the increased incidences of out-marriage, the leadership of the yearly meetings began to relax the Discipline so that members who married out could acknowledge their error and remain in membership. Or, if they did not want to acknowledge, disowned Quakers were free to attend meeting for worship and consider themselves Friends in all ways but through membership. This is borne out by the 1851 census figures that record over 7,000 Quakers in Ontario. Monthly meeting records for the same time, however, list only about 1,000 members. By the third generation many more people considered themselves Friends than were considered so officially by their monthly meetings. Furthermore, by mid-century Quaker identity had become much more accommodative than exclusive.

Religious ties were successfully reinforced with family connections. Marriage patterns in the first-generation community indicate that partners were largely chosen from the faith community. This created extended kinship ties within the meeting and strengthened the religious community, as religious beliefs were supported by strong kinship relationships. Although the preparative meetings may have begun as relatively disparate communities, kin connections began to develop quickly between them within the first generation. These kinship connections, in turn, underscored the growth and maturation of a larger Yonge Street community of Friends that was able to remain insulated from mainstream society because of its commitment to endogamy. Yet, the separation of the Children of Peace in 1812 demonstrates that tribalism and the accompanying issues of spiritual purity and doctrinal uniformity were already being addressed early in the life of the meeting. Because these issues were localised and internal, the local community exercised the Discipline and disowned the offending parties. The choice to maintain spiritual purity led to a small but painful schism that initiated a series of small fractures in community. Over the course of the second-generation community, these initial fissures were compounded by external forces over which Friends had little control. These forces led to a much more damaging schism in 1828 that tore apart family ties and challenged the integrity of the community as a separate and distinct entity. However, for the first generation, at least, it is clear that an integral aspect of this vibrant, growing, and insulated faith community was the support structure of kith and kin.

Chapter Three
Train up a child:
Quaker Women and the Sustaining of Community

At about the same time that Timothy Rogers and his settlers arrived on Yonge Street in May 1801, the women of the London Yearly Meeting sent an epistle to the "Yearly Meeting of Women Friends" in Philadelphia. This epistle would have been forwarded from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting to all of its subordinate meetings and would have made its way into the homes of the Yonge Street Friends where it offered counsel and encouragement to Quakers in this frontier setting. Like most other epistles written by and for women, this one had a lengthy commentary on youth. Its contents reveal the significance placed on the preparation of children to take their place as effective members of the Society of Friends:

> It hath been now, as heretofore, reviving to us to find there are of the beloved youth, both in your land, and ours, willing to be first seeking "the Kingdom of God, and his Righteousness." And as they endeavour with a single Eye, steadily to adhere to the pure intimations of Divine Wisdom in their own Hearts, (or in other words) to the sanctifying power of "Christ within," they will become useful instruments in promoting the cause of truth on Earth, and in the end be admitted rejoiceingly [sic] to unite with those, who thro' obedience inherit the promise, having experienced availingly the verity of that solemn declaration, "Hear, and your souls shall live."[1]

Far away from the large, urban gathering of Quakers in London, women in Yonge Street bush would have pondered this epistle during their first winter in Upper Canada. Although Upper Canadian and English women Friends may appear to have had little in common due to their disparate circumstances, their faith drew them together in a shared commitment to the training of their children in the precepts of their faith. This was a primary interest which occupied the minds and daily lives of Quaker women everywhere.

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[1] "From our Yearly Meeting of Women Friends held in London by adjournments from the 20th of the 5th month 1801 to the 29th of the same inclusive, to the Yearly Meeting of Women Friends to be held in Philadelphia," CYM Archives, Box 21, "Pelham."

From generation to generation, Quaker women exhorted and encouraged each other to remain faithful to what they saw as their most important task: preparing the way of the Lord in the hearts of their children and others placed in their care. Transmitting a faith from one generation to the next was a task accomplished in a myriad of ways. Through both formal and informal education, young Quaker children were taught that their faith must take precedence over all other considerations in their lives. Formal education through schools and apprenticeship were integral aspects of a Quaker education and provided opportunities for training in the distinct aspects of the Quaker faith.[2] However, as useful as formal education was in conveying values from one generation to the next, the most important elements in sustaining the Quaker faith were those related to the informal education children received within their faith community.[3]

Informal education specifically provided for the socialisation of children and youth in the precepts of the Quaker faith. It also extended beyond childhood and was the arena for continuing education and socialisation in the community. Through informal education women helped sustain the faith from generation to generation because it was a continual process. Unlike formal education, which distinguished one generation from the other and ended once specific academic skills had been acquired, informal education was ongoing. As older Friends "taught" younger Friends, the lines dividing the generations blurred. The thread of encouragement and exhortation that was woven through the generations was part of a constant exchange between Quaker women in their extended faith community.[4] Because of this, informal education emerged as the most significant component of sustaining the faith community.

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[2] Schooling and apprenticeship are discussed in detail in Chapter Seven.

[3] Of course informal education was not only important in the Quaker community; it was a vital aspect of the education of the children of all Upper Canadian settlers. As Susan Houston and Alison Prentice point out, social and household skills as well as education in agriculture, hunting, crafts or professions were all important aspects of informal education, long before school acts were passed in the province. Susan E. Houston and Alison Prentice. *Schooling and Scholars in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988).

Informal education within the Society permeated every aspect of a Friend's life; it offered numerous opportunities for sustaining the manner and values of Quaker community. Quaker children were socialised in the home in which they lived and in the meetings for worship and business that they attended. Methods of informal education in all Quaker communities were an expression of a faith which promoted the guidance of the Inner Light and the spiritual equality of all believers. The mechanisms of informal education discussed here can be divided broadly into two categories; women played a predominant role in both. First, passive forms of informal education were based on the use of prescriptive literature and the provision of positive role models. The word "passive" is not meant to imply lack of activity. Obviously, women worked very hard to use the tools provided to them by the meeting to instruct their children and each other in the faith. I consider these forms passive in that they involved Quakers reading about or observing others who lived the faith well. Second, active forms of informal education were based on the implementation of the precepts of Quakerism. The active expression of the spiritual equality of all believers is seen most strongly in the travelling women's ministry and the exercise of the Discipline in the independent women's meeting for business. Because of its unique importance in the community, the meeting for business is discussed separately in the next chapter. The use of both passive and active forms of informal education resulted, in the first generation, in the successful establishment of a thriving Quaker community on Yonge Street, despite the remote location of the meeting and its distance from other North American Quaker communities.

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[4] The Quaker community, by its very definition as a faith community, extended far beyond the physical reaches of the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting. Quakers' identification with their faith was far more than a taxonomy of geography. It was an identification that spanned political boundaries, lines of colour, ethnicity, class and gender. It was deeply rooted in a worldview that was based on a particular interpretation of the Christian faith. As a result, mechanisms of informal education also crossed these lines and, therefore, were very similar from meeting to meeting regardless of a meeting's location. This was based in a concern for succeeding generations of Quakers that was not meeting specific, but was a central aspect related to sustaining the Society of Friends as a whole. Therefore, any examination of informal education must take this into account.

After 1815, however, divergent visions of Quakerism emerged which led to disagreement over the concept of community that Friends were working to sustain. This was reflected in each group's interpretation of the ancient principles of Quakerism. Factions emphasised their version of spiritual purity over community unity. The eventual result was the fragmentation of the Society in 1828.

The fact that the influences of informal education could be employed for such divisive ends demonstrates their fundamental significance in the larger Quaker community. Informal education was the chief mechanism of sustaining a large transatlantic Quaker community. It supported and maintained a distinct and separate community that, for over one hundred and fifty years, had remained insulated from mainstream society. When that mechanism was turned inward and employed in a divisive manner, there was little to protect the Society of Friends from itself. Yet, each faction that emerged from the 1828 separation carried with it the tradition of informal education. As they continued to use the various mechanism of socialisation, the community was sustained, even as it was divided.

The pivotal role of Quaker women in ensuring that the faith was transmitted and sustained from one generation to the next was a direct result of their position as primary caregivers in families. Men were also dynamic participants in this enterprise; this discussion does not deny their role in passing on the principles of Friends. However, this examination explores the role of women specifically, as the literal keepers of the faith, in sustaining the community. It points to two conclusions. First, the efforts of Quaker women in informal education were not unique. Women in other denominations undertook a similar task in their own community and used many of the same tools utilised by Quakers.[5] The difference in informal education in the Society of Friends was one of content not of form. That being said, aspects of informal education, such as women in the travelling ministry, were unique in the extent to which they were practised by Friends.[6] Second, this was a faith-based education and was directed towards training children to grow in their faith. It purposefully proclaimed the precept of the spiritual equality of all believers. As a result, gender role socialisation took place in an environment based on the principle of the spiritual equality of men and women. The active role of women in all levels of informal education provided role models of female leadership in both the family and the faith community. This had a profound impact on the worldview of Quakers and their interactions with mainstream society.

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[5] For instance, see Marguerite Van Die's discussion of mothers and "the making of a Methodist." Marguerite Van Die, *An Evangelical Mind: Nathaniel Burwash and the Methodist Tradition in Canada, 1839-1918* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 14-37. For a similar discussion relating to the second half of the nineteenth century, see Neil Semple, "'The Nurture and Admonition of the Lord': Nineteenth-Century Canadian Methodism's Response to 'Childhood'," *Histoire Sociale-Social History* 14, 27(1981): 157-75.

[6] Women who were members of other Protestant groups also preached in the British North American colonies during the early nineteenth century. Female Methodist preachers were of especial importance in Upper Canada. However, the incidence of women preachers in other groups declined in the first half of the nineteenth century and by 1850 there were virtually no opportunities for women to be involved in public ministry. The difference for Quaker women was that Quakerism provided a long-established tradition of public ministry for women. Therefore, women continued to be active public ministers throughout the nineteenth century. See, D.G. Bell, "Allowed Irregularities: Women Preachers in the Early 19th- Century Maritimes," *Acadiensis* 30, 2(2001): 3-39; Elizabeth Gillian Muir, *Petticoats in the Pulpit: The Story of Early Nineteenth-Century Methodist Women Preachers in Upper Canada* (Toronto: The United Church Publishing House, 1991).

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One of the most obvious methods of sustaining Friends' values within the community was the daily faith education that children received in the family. This education primarily took the form of reading the scriptures and silent worship within the home. Fundamentally important for Friends was teaching youngsters to sit quietly and to "gather" their thoughts in meditation. Those present at a worship meeting expected that mothers and fathers would have had their children practise the art of silent worship. Because it was an aspect of formal schooling as well, teachers would also have expected young students to have learned at least the rudiments of silent worship at home. In this way, the home and family remained the focal point of young Quakers' education.

All yearly meetings made it clear that it was the parents' most important duty to raise their children and all others who came under their care in the principles of Quakerism. This was significant enough to be embodied in the monthly queries, which provided a general assessment of the health of the meetings subordinate to a yearly meeting.[7] The wording of the query demonstrates that the role of parents was not just one of instruction by word but was one of training by example. Through the Discipline it is apparent that the yearly meetings considered the family as the primary agent of socialisation.[8] Parents who failed to fulfil their duty could be disowned. In fact, when meetings began cracking down on Friends who married "out of order," the New York Yearly Meeting leadership ascribed this recalcitrant behaviour to parents who failed to take their responsibilities seriously. Hence, part of the query on marriage asked if "parents connive[d] at their children's keeping company" with non-members.[9] Children who strayed were one challenge; parents who tolerated it were another problem altogether. The Discipline explicitly exhorted parents to take greater care of their children's spiritual well-being, reminding them that:

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[7] The third query asked: "Are Friends careful to keep themselves, their own, and other Friends' children under their care, in plainness of speech, behaviour and apparel; and do they endeavour, by example and precept, to train them up in a religious life and conversation, consistent with our Christian profession? Are the Scriptures of Truth frequently read in their families, and do they extend a due care in these respects, towards others under their tuition?" *Discipline of the Yearly Meeting of Friends, held in New York, For the State of New York, and Parts Adjacent: As revised and adopted, in the sixth month, 1810,* (New York: Collins and Perkins, 1810), 35. Hereafter referred to as *Discipline of the New York Yearly Meeting, 1810.*

> As, next to our souls, our children are the immediate objects of care and concern, parents and heads of families are entreated to lay to heart the great and lasting importance of a religious education to the youth; and to be solicitous that their tender and susceptible minds may be impressed with virtuous principles, and a just sense of the Divine Being, his wisdom, goodness, power, and omnipresence.[10]

Women, as co-heads of families,[11] bore the brunt of the responsibility for ensuring that these tender minds were indeed impressed in the proper way. In this endeavour, the Discipline served as a child-rearing manual and laid out some steps for successful child-rearing.

Living in a world that they thought was competing for the souls of their children, Quakers understood the importance of proper child-rearing, acknowledging that "virtue does not descend by lineal succession, nor piety by inheritance." However, the yearly meeting leadership was confident that parents who were "sincere" in their endeavours to raise pious offspring by providing a good example in religious, family and work life would be rewarded. In this vein young children were to be kept from the "vain fashions, the corrupt customs, and unprofitable conversation of the world." Older children were to

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[8] The wording of this query is similar in all the yearly meetings.

[9] *Discipline of the New York Yearly Meeting, 1810*, 35.

[10] Ibid., 78.

[11] Unlike the situation in mainstream society where heads of families were men or widowed women, Friends considered husbands and wives as co-heads of families. This is seen most clearly in the list of Orthodox members of the Pelham Monthly Meeting following the Hicksite-Orthodox separation. The list registers "heads of families" and "minor children." Couples are listed with the names of both women and men. Those cases of individual names being listed are for unmarried adults and widows or widowers. Pelham Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1806-1834, MS 303, Reel 41, C-3-45, 06-05-1829.

be restrained from "reading plays, romances, and all other publications of a nature prejudicial to the promotion of christianity [sic]; likewise against public pastimes and diversions all of which have a tendency to draw the incautious mind from a sense of religious duty." Restraint was the underlying theme in messages on child-rearing; parents were continually reminded that the youth who strayed from the faith usually did so because of the "negligence or indulgence" of parents who failed "to suppress the early beginnings of undue liberty.[12] Obviously, those devout Quakers who led the yearly meeting saw Friends who were less devout as too lenient in their parenting. By using guilt to encourage all Friends to take their religious responsibility more seriously, the yearly meeting hoped to produce parents who would be better examples to their children and others under their guardianship.

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In addition to modelling proper behaviour and keeping plays and romances out of the house, the daily reading of the Scriptures and other Quaker books provided opportunities to channel young minds in the proper direction. The Yearly Meeting was concerned that all families had the proper books within their homes to carry out this charge.[13] To facilitate this, the yearly meeting provided books to its subordinate meetings. These were then distributed to families according to need.

The most important book in the Quaker community was the Bible.[14] Any family in need of a Bible or other appropriate books could request one from their monthly meeting.[15] It was often the first book that children read. For instance, Priscilla Cadwallader, who became a minister, had limited formal schooling, but, "owing to the advantages of parental home instruction, she had read the Bible through when only six years of age."[16] After the Hicksite-Orthodox schism in 1828, when the Bible became even more central to the Orthodox, the New York Meeting for Sufferings insisted that all preparative meetings determine whom, among their membership, was without one. The fact that only five Bibles were needed for Yonge Street families indicates the widespread ownership of the Scriptures among Friends.[17] Often it was the only book a family owned.

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[12] *Discipline of the New York Yearly Meeting, 1810*, 78-79.

[13] Extract from New York Yearly Meeting, Adolphustown Monthly Meeting, 1798-1813, MS 303, Reel 14, B-2-1, 16-10-1806.

[14] Doctrinal debates in the 1810s and 1820s circled in part around disputes over the infallibility of the Bible. During this period the Bible became even more important for the Orthodox. It remained significant for the Hicksites, but their belief that the Bible was not God's final word to humanity meant that it was not as central to their beliefs as it was for the Orthodox.

While the literary emphasis was placed on Bibles or books written by Quakers, the yearly meetings also supplied readers or spellers for the instruction of young people. For instance, in 1799, the Pelham Monthly Meeting received a large shipment of books from the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. Included were: "10 epistles, 3 large Bibles, 3 small, 6 testaments, 5 of Benjamin Holms, 18 of Spaldings works, 12 spelling books, 1 volumes of Phipses works, 6 of Mary Brooks, 8 of Elizabeth Webs, 2 dozen primers…, 1 Barclays Catechism for Black Creek the rest [to be] equally divided between the meetings."[18] The books were divided "among friends and the friendly inclined."[19] The inclusion of spelling books and primers is indicative of the awareness of the yearly meeting that most youngsters in frontier meetings would be educated at home by their mothers. The women who used them would have appreciated the provision of spellers and readers for this purpose.

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[15] Ibid., 19-03-1807, 20-07-1809, 17-08-1809.

[16] *Memoir of Priscilla Cadwallader*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Published for the Book Association of Friends by T. Ellwood Zell & Co., 1864), 6-7.

[17] Yonge Street Preparative Meeting, 1804-1862, MS 303, Reel 26, B-2-76, 08-07-1830.

[18] Pelham Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1799-1806, MS 303, Reel 40, C-3-44, 05-11-1800.

[19] Ibid.

The Yearly Meeting also subsidised Quaker books they felt would be beneficial for use within families. In many cases these were books which favoured specific religious principles or doctrine. For instance, in 1818, Henry Tuke's *Principles of Religion*[20] was subsidised by the Yearly Meeting and made available to Friends for less than twenty-five cents a copy.[21] This was a controversial book. Its promotion by the yearly meeting is indicative of the significance of books as a tool of informal education. Even at the subsidised price of less than twenty-five cents a copy, this book would have been too costly for many Yonge Street Friends, even if they had wanted a copy. The Bible remained the fundamental book for teaching Quaker children.

Books were highly valued among both men and women, regardless of the number they owned. Phebe Winn, an elder in the Yonge Street meeting, owned three books: a Bible, a dictionary, and a copy of Robert Barclay's *Apology*. Although she divided her personal property equally among her children in her will, she excepted her books from that provision. She willed her Bible to her son Jacob and her dictionary to another son, Joshua. Her copy of Barclay's *Apology*, however, she gave to her daughter, Esther Doan, who became a minister in the Orthodox meeting.[22] Isaac Wiggins, another elder, also owned three books. These he distributed among his daughters and son-in-law: Rachel

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[20] Henry Tuke, *The Principles of Religion, as professed by the Society of Christians usually called Quakers: written for the instruction of their youth, and for the information of strangers* (New York: New York Yearly Meeting of Friends, 1837).

[21] Whitchurch Preparative Meeting of Friends, 1816-1814, MS 303, Reel 26, B-2-73, 14-11-1818. This book had been written expressly for the purpose of "instructing the youth of the Society in the principles of Friends." Although the New York Yearly Meeting supported Tuke's book, it was controversial because of its specific focus on evangelical doctrine. The book was fully supported by the group that became known as the Orthodox. Those who became Hicksites, however, had numerous reservations about its content which defended the infallibility of Scripture and the necessity of doctrinal unity.

Wiggins Penrose received his large Bible, Elizabeth Wiggins Watson received Sewell's *History of the People Called Quakers* and Thomas Linville, his son-in-law, received three volumes of Clarkson's *Portraiture of Quakerism.*[23]

Even if the libraries of most Quakers were rather sparse in their variety, the libraries of the preparative and monthly meetings bridged the gap, providing a larger selection of books for the use of their members. All of these books were sanctioned by the Meeting for Sufferings which determined their 'appropriateness'. For instance, the Whitchurch Preparative Meeting reported in 1823 that when they attended monthly meeting on Yonge Street they had "brought a book titled Treatices [sic] on Church Government by Robert Barclay for the use of the families of the Preparative Meeting."[24] The libraries of the preparative meetings would have had other books similar in content for the use of their members. Pelham Monthly Meeting regularly received shipments of books from the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting when it was under that jurisdiction. In 1802 Pelham received a shipment of four volumes of Quaker books and were instructed that they were to make a list of those books they owned and those that they wished to have added to their collection.[25] When another large shipment arrived in the summer of 1803, they were instructed to divide them up among the libraries of each of the preparative meetings.[26] Some of these volumes would have been sent on to Yonge Street indicating that the library at Yonge Street began shortly after settlement. These collections were

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[22] Will of Phebe Winn, MS 303, Reel 54, D-2-16

[23] Will of Isaac Wiggins, 1813, MS 638, Reel 105, PAO. It is interesting that Wiggins chose to give the set of books to his son-in-law and not his daughter Martha Wiggins Linville. Both were active Friends; both would be recognised as elders shortly after Wiggins's death in 1813.

[24] Whitchurch Preparative Meeting of Friends, 1816-1841, 05-03-1823.

[25] Pelham Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1799-1806, 01-09-1802.

[26] Ibid., 05-07-1803.

supplemented annually as representatives to the Yearly Meeting returned with books for the use of Yonge Street Friends.

When the school that Quakers operated on Yonge Street closed down after the Hicksite-Orthodox separation in 1828,[27] Friends became even more concerned about the value of Quaker books for the use of the membership. By 1830 a formal library committee had been formed in the Orthodox meeting to establish the rules and regulations of borrowing materials from the meeting's library.[28] Presumably the collection already present at each of the meetinghouses formed the basis of their collections. The library at Yonge Street was very much like the meeting libraries elsewhere. It contained copies of the Discipline, various epistles, specific Quaker books and copies of memorials and journals approved by the Meeting for Sufferings.[29] Both the Hicksite and Orthodox libraries contained similar types of literature. The difference, again, was in their content. The insistence of maintaining a good library attests to the increasing importance of informal education among Friends. By the end of the second-generation community, when Quaker students were attending local common schools, informal education was even more integral in sustaining the faith community.

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In addition to the Bible and Quaker books, an important type of reading material in each local community was the numerous epistles conveyed between meetings. Epistles were a mechanism of communication between meetings. They provided an opportunity for the yearly meetings to assess the condition of the various meetings under their authority. The yearly meeting responded with an annual epistle in which members were applauded for their accomplishments and counselled or encouraged in areas of weakness. At the same time that epistles flowed "down" through the meetings, yearly meetings sent epistles to each other in order to exhort fellow Friends in the faith. Moreover, all North American yearly meetings sent annual epistles to London Yearly Meeting, in recognition of its position as the parent meeting. Great quantities of each epistle, then, were required each year. Representatives to the yearly meetings took their 'quota' of epistles back to their quarterly meetings, where they were distributed to the monthly and preparative meetings. Once read at the preparative meetings, men and women were appointed to duplicate enough copies of the epistle in order that each family could receive one for edification in their own homes.

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[27] A discussion of the school on Yonge Street and formal education in general is found in Chapter Eight.

[28] Yonge Street Preparative Meeting of Friends, 1804-1862, 07-01-1830.

[29] All Quaker works proposed for publication had to be approved first by the Meeting for Sufferings of one of the respective yearly meetings. This was supposed to ensure that no work "which tends to excite disunity and discord" would be published. *Discipline of the New York Yearly Meeting, 1810*, 96.

The epistles supplemented the Discipline and provided specific "how-to" advice on all aspects of the faith community. On a practical level, women who were educating their children at home found that transcribing numerous copies of the epistles for distribution provided excellent writing practice for youngsters of material that was edifying and instructional in its content. From a very early age, children grew accustomed to hearing and reading the epistles and, as a result, grew up with an ever-increasing awareness of the breadth of their faith community.[30] This sense of extended community assisted in the socialisation of Friends in a faith community that reached far beyond the physical boundary of Yonge Street and area. In many cases, Friends separated by great distances commented on how the epistles drew them together: "though we are so distantly situated as to the body, some of our spirits have felt a precious unity with you, under a sense that the same powerful influence of Divine light, which first called us to be a separated People, hath continued unto this day…."[31] Women on the Upper Canadian frontier, facing innumerable challenges, no doubt appreciated the support they received from their sisters in the faith. As the epistles made their way into homes, women drew strength from the knowledge that women Friends elsewhere were overcoming similar tribulations, at least spiritually if not temporally.

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[30] For instance, at the Canada Half-Yearly Meeting of Women Friends it was recorded that "The Extracts from our last yearly meeting have been received and read in this there have also been four Epistles received and read namely the London, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Rhode Island the reading of which was

Because they made their way into each home, the epistles were a useful source of child-rearing advice. Women were not only encouraged to act as proper models and protect their children from the pernicious influences of the non-Quaker world; above all, they were reminded of the sacred nature of their role in the informal education of their children. In outlining women's role to them, three key issues appear in the epistles.

First, women were reminded of their responsibility to ensure regular attendance at meetings. Given the distance that Friends had to travel in many of the frontier meetings, attendance in some areas had obviously become problematic. This had "occasioned much exercise" among devout Friends at the New York Yearly Meeting in 1813.[32] For some Friends who lived on Yonge Street the distance to the meetinghouse might not have been great, but a distance of even a few miles through the Upper Canadian forest with small children in arms or in tow would have been both tiring and time-consuming. Those women at the yearly meeting who were deeply exercised about attendance would have

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consolatory to many minds." Canada Half-Yearly Meeting of Women Friends, 1810-1864, MS 303, Reel 14, B-1-13, 02-09-1812.

[31] To the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Women, "From our Yearly meeting of Women Friends held in London by adjournments from the 20th of the 5th month 1801 to the 29th of the same, inclusive," CYM Archives, Box 21, "Pelham."

[32] "At a Yearly Meeting of Women Friends held in new York by adjournments from the 24th to 28th of 5th month, inclusive, 1813," CYM Archives, Box 21, "Pelham."

included representatives from Yonge Street. These representatives would have been some of the most active and devout women in the meeting. After travelling to New York and back in the service of their meeting, these women would have reported the sentiments of the Yearly Meeting with a sense of validation for their own devotion, given that some women in the Yonge Street meeting could not even bother to attend local meetings regularly. The New York Yearly Meeting of Women challenged their members for their lack of attendance, wondering "how can we expect to inherit durable riches, if we suffer ourselves to become so entangled and engrossed with the surfeiting cares of this life, as to prevent our devoting a small portion of that time in mercy bestowed upon us, in assembling ourselves together."[33] It was not only for the sake of the women alone that the meeting was concerned "but for our beloved offspring, and those under our care, ought our diligent endeavours to be used; that so we may be enabled to present them also before the most high, and to teach them early, both by precept and example, that they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength."[34]

Second, the epistles regularly exhorted women "to the practice of frequently collecting [their] families and reading a portion of the sacred writings."[35] Young mothers were especially cheered on in this task, with the epistles conveying sympathetic tones that "many are the cares of this state of our pilgrimage."[36] Young mothers were reminded that amid their fatigue they stood at an especially important fork in the road of their children's lives and in their own spiritual walk:

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[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.
[35] "At the Yearly Meeting of Women Friends, held in New York, by adjournments, from the 27th of the 5th month, to the 31st of the same, inclusive, 1816," CYM Archives, Box 21, "Pelham."
[36] Ibid., emphasis in the original.

> how necessary then to seek for that help which will enable us to possess our souls in patience, while, by precept, example, and restraining love we are labouring to subject the wayward passions of the tender, and even infant mind, and to suppress the first buddings of evil. Thus shall we become instrumental in preparing the way of the Lord, and making his paths straight.[37]

Even young girls, not yet at "that stage" in their pilgrimage, would hear these admonitions. Therefore, even as much as they encouraged those women who were young mothers, these epistles were used to prepare young women for the responsibilities of motherhood.

Finally, the epistles called upon women to purify the Society. In the nineteenth century, for instance, as more young people challenged the rules of plainness, women reminded each other that the spiritual welfare of the Society "depends on the prudent care exercised by us, in the discharge of those duties which relate to social and domestic life."[38] The Yearly Meeting was concerned that the very reason for the "sorrowful departure" from simplicity was that too many women had "a disposition to gratify the many superfluous and imaginary wants of the present day."[39] As a result they "have been induced unwarrantably to extend their business, whereby they have caused the way of Truth to be lightly spoken of, and pierced themselves and families through with many sorrows."[40] The message of the epistles was clear: as much as they acknowledged women's pivotal role in training up children, the Society placed the responsibility for sustaining the faith directly on women. In the nineteenth century it became increasingly difficult to insulate children from the larger society and increased incidences of transgressions from plainness began to appear in the minutes. This constituted a challenge for the distinctiveness of the Society; women bore the brunt of responsibility for ensuring that this concern was addressed with the youth. In response to the weight of this responsibility, women must have voiced their concerns in their meetings. The London Yearly Meeting issued an epistle in 1821 which reminded men that assistance in child rearing would be worthwhile and welcomed since: "in all cases [mothers'] pious endeavours may be strengthened by the co-operation of the fathers."[41]

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[37] Ibid.

[38] "At the Yearly Meeting of Women Friends, held in New York, by adjournments from 26th of the Fifth Month, to the 31st of the same, inclusive, 1817," CYM Archives, Box 21, "Pelham."

[39] Ibid.

Because they were issued regularly, the epistles were also able to address problems soon after they arose. This was the case in the 1820s when the storms of dissension battered the Society. During these troubles, women were reminded of their part in keeping the faith strong.[42] This was especially the case for Upper Canadian women who were reminded that even "while the enemy [was] endeavouring to divide in Jacob and scatter in Israel," they were to "labour to become established upon that immoveable Rock against which Storms beat in vain...." This personal epistle, written to women in Canada, indicates the level of concern felt by the Yearly Meeting about potentially divisive schisms in Upper Canada.[43] Awareness of the strength of women ministers and elders in Canadian meetings coupled with a memory of the very divisive role they had played in the Davidite schism of 1812 resulted in exhortations for unity. Although the general epistle to all the women of the yearly meeting also addressed "the

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[40] Ibid.

[41] "The Epistle from the Yearly Meeting held in London, By Adjournments, from the 23rd of the Fifth Month, to the 2nd of the sixth Month, inclusive 1821, to the Quarterly and Monthly Meeting of Friends in Great Britain, Ireland, and Elsewhere," CYM Archives, Vertical Shelves.

[42] Even before the major Hicksite-Orthodox schism of the 1820s, there had been minor separations within the Society. The Children of Peace, or Davidites, of Yonge Street had separated from Friends in 1812. Hannah Barnard and her New Lights in northern New York had separated just before that. Therefore, although they were not of the magnitude of the larger schism, these earlier separations indicate that the Society of Friends was no stranger to conflict.

evident want of love"[44] in the greater New York Yearly Meeting, memories of the fractious split of the Children of Peace were no doubt behind the decision to encourage unity among women in Canada. This epistle also points to the consequence of appropriate child rearing in sustaining the community. Mothers were urged to consider the "careful education" of children and others under their care: "much, very much," Upper Canadian women were told, "depends upon your aid in suppressing the first buddings of Evil."[45] Specifically, women were counselled to "watch over [their] daughters" for it was their daughters who formed the next generation of mothers and harvesters in the field of faith. As the next generation of mothers, daughters were to be prepared to "fill with propriety the seats of some of us that may soon be removed from works to Rewards."[46]

Even as they were reminded of the responsibility they each bore as mothers, women carefully encouraged each other not to despair if some of their children fell away from the faith. The epistles affirmed that the integrity of the faith was the central issue. Should their children stray from their upbringing, women were assured that their own continued devotion to the faith would bring its rewards. This is seen in the benediction of the epistle to the Canadian women: "Finally, dear Sisters: let not your hearts be troubled, ye have believed in GOD, believe also in his Son and in his Gracious promises who hath declared he will not leave nor forsake those who trust in Him."[47] As important a role as women played in sustaining the faith from generation to generation, devotion to

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[43] "From our yearly meeting of Women Friends held in New York by adjournments from the 29th of 5th month to the 2nd of the sixth 1820, to the Half Year's meeting of Women Friends in Canada," CYM Archives, Box 21, "Pelham."
[44] "At the Yearly Meeting of Women Friends, held in New York, by adjournments, from the 29th of 5th month to the 2nd of the 6th month inclusive, 1820," CYM Archives, Box 21.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.

their own faith was still viewed as the most important issue for women Friends. It was recognised that, at some point, children would make their own decision about the faith; regardless of all of the efforts of the Society and the mothers who taught them, some children would choose to leave the faith. What remained important for the devout was the focus inward, and continued efforts to maintain the purity of the faith.

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Those who remained faithful and lived lives of great piety were memorialised by their meetings and offered specific models for children to follow. Those Friends who managed to achieve the closest thing there was to a perfect Quaker life had their memorials and journals published by the Meeting for Sufferings so that they could be distributed to the local meetings for Friends to read and ponder. The memorials "commemorate[d] the lives of the righteous;" they were written expressly for the purpose of being an "incentive to the living to emulate their virtues."[48] Journals were the diaries of weighty Friends that were published posthumously, again in an effort to provide examples of Quakers who exhibited sterling qualities in their spiritual lives. Memorials and journals served as some of the most prescriptive literature available to Friends and they provided clear models for the Quaker life and of the struggle and subsequent victory of the sacred over the secular.

Realise that these records recount the lives of the favoured few who were the recognised spiritual elite among Friends; they cannot be taken as representative artifacts of the lives of all Quakers. They do, however, give us a glimpse into the lives of Quaker women. Barring extensive personal diaries from women who appear to have been far too

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[47] Ibid.
[48] *Discipline of the New York Yearly Meeting, 1810*, 106.

busy with the running of households and meetings, memorials and journals are a window through which we can view those areas that concerned women Friends. They also give examples of the most desirable qualities for Quaker women to attain.[49] The memorials, which often detail the extensive travels of ministers in the name of the gospel, give an indication of the level of personal sacrifice that the Quaker saints were prepared to make for the sake of their faith. In the case of women, especially, one can see the challenges associated with being recognised in the ministry. Travel in the ministry required them to place their faith above their families. Even though Friends preached spiritual equality, they lived in a larger society which did not. The memorials and journals indicate that the challenges and name-calling to which women were subjected as they travelled from meeting to meeting, visiting and preaching to Quakers and non-Quakers alike, caused many of them to be "deeply exercized."[50]

The purpose of the memorials was to encourage others, especially young people, to take their faith seriously. One memorial contained the hope that "the perusal of these memoirs [may] so affect the youth, into whose hands they may fall, with the love and admiration of virtue, heavenly virtue, Christian virtue, as to raise a heart-felt petition, similar to that which Sarah herself, when a child, was engaged to put up, when she was reading the lived and happy conclusions of the faithful."[51] In format the memorials invariably showed a deep spiritual struggle through which the memorialised had to pass. This demonstrated the importance of denying the temporal world to take up the cross of the spiritual life. The eventual step of denial was often foreshadowed with divine visitations in childhood. This was followed by a series of crises, most of which occurred when the individuals in question were in adolescence or early adulthood. These spiritual crises always included severe mental or physical trials, which were used in the memorial to provide opportunities for instruction in the moral and virtuous life.

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[49] All of the memorials and journals discussed here were found in the Yonge Street library and would have been read by Friends within the Yonge Street community. There were equal numbers of memorials dedicated to women and men.

[50] Even though these women appear to have overcome great odds in their ministry, the Meeting for Sufferings that approved all publications was cautious not to allow too idyllic an interpretation of this spiritual elite to be represented in these works.

Consider the life of Sarah Tucker, an English Friend, which exemplifies these stages. Her memorial noted first that "in her young and tender years she was often visited with the inshining of that Divine Light which is a reprover of all evil thoughts, words and actions, and which will, when followed in faith and singleness of heart, lead its humble and devoted children into the way of truth and righteousness."[52] Even though Tucker "appeared, in some degree, to have indulged in the vanities of life," she was "mercifully favoured to witness an overcoming of these things" and came to take up her cross.[53] This process, which all occurred before Tucker was twenty-one years old, was not accomplished without a struggle. As her memorial recounted: "deep were her baptisms, and various were the conflicts of spirit through which she had to pass, before she could thus give up to follow the leadings of the Spirit of Truth, in the way of requirings."[54] Through stories such as these, youngsters were being prepared to meet the difficulties they too would face as they chose to remain faithful to the principles of Quakerism.

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[51] *Memoirs of the Life, and Travels, in the Service of the Gospel of Sarah Stephenson* (Philadelphia: Kimber, Conrad, and Company, 1807), 4.
[52] "Testimony of Dartmouth Monthly Meeting of Friends, concerning Sarah Tucker, deceased," in *Memoirs of the Life and Religious Experience of Sarah Tucker, a Minister of the Society of Friends, Written by Herself* (Phildadelphia: Moore and Choate Printers, 1848), 197.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid.

Notable and surprising among all of the memorialised women was their young age when they underwent the trials which led them into the ministry.[55] In a memorial to his wife, Sarah Webster Hughes, Samuel Hughes recounted her spiritual trials and tribulations. The Hughes lived on Yonge Street directly across from the meeting house and were actively involved in the meeting until they were disowned for joining the Children of Peace. In the memorial Hughes noted that in Sarah Webster's youth she "became more wild and indulged the love of company, and had a strong inclination for the habits of dress so common with that time of life."[56] However, at the age of twenty-one "she was visited with a severe fit of sickness," so severe that everyone assumed she would die. However, just as it was thought she was to die, "the spirit of the Lord appeared to come upon her; her strength was renewed, and the springs of life seemed to break forth in her and she spoke with an audible voice amongst them; bearing testimony against sin, and pointing out the duties of life through obedience to the Cross of Christ." Following her remarkable recovery, Hughes "was meek and harmless as a child and lived in obedience to the covenants that she had made with the Lord."[57] The telling of the story, as well as the experiencing of it, would have been a potent reminder to Yonge Street parents to guard their children from the vanities of the world and for the youth to consider their choices carefully, since each choice appeared to have eternal consequences.

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[55] Most of the women memorialised went through this spiritual transformation when they were quite young and were recognised in the ministry when they were in their early twenties. I had expected that ministers would be recognised at a much later age, once the responsibilities of child bearing and rearing were completed. However, the responsibility of matrimony and motherhood coupled with the demands of ministry demonstrates even more the emphasis on faith over family within the Society.

[56] "Memorial to Sarah Hughes," rpt. in *Canadian Quaker History Newsletter* 4, (1973):3.

[57] Ibid.

In addition to being an admonition to appropriate behaviour, the consistent inclusion of spiritual struggle in the memorials served as an encouragement for both parents and youth that spiritual struggles were not uncommon and could, with proper guidance from the Inner Light, be overcome. However, lest the reader become enamoured with the stories of spiritual giants, the message was clear that turning away from the Inner Light, even momentarily, would be disastrous. This could happen to even the most devout of Friends. Such was the case with the highly-regarded Priscilla Cadwallader who was so active in ministry that, before the age of thirty-seven, she had visited every Friends' meeting on the North American continent.[58] Apparently Cadwallader's second marriage was disastrous and "brought her years of sorrow and suffering."[59] In what she called a "moment of weakness" Cadwallader had allowed herself to let "the persuasions of others prevail over the clear sense of right with which she was favoured."[60] The reader was reminded that this poor decision demonstrated that even "gifted and chosen instruments do not always furnish models for our example" and that the only "safety is in reliance upon the inward Director, and obedience to his monitions."[61] Even the mighty fell. But it was not the falling, as much as the response to it that was critical. In spite of her error and her suffering, Cadwallader continued to focus on the Inner Light and travelled tirelessly in the ministry redeeming herself through her work.[62]

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[58] *Memoir of Priscilla Cadwallader, 2nd ed.* (Philadelphia: Published for the Book Association of Friends by T. Ellwood Zell & Co., 1864), 8-9.

[59] Ibid., 69.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid., 70.

[62] Cadwallader's unhappy second marriage may have been one of the reasons she continued to travel so extensively. She may have found the struggles of the itinerant ministry easier to bear than an unhappy home life.

For women especially the memorials and journals illustrate the importance played by family and community in the worship meeting. For instance, in her journal, Sarah Hunt commented that, as a young unmarried woman, she admired the many women who attended meeting with infants in their arms. This admiration extended from her awareness of how difficult it must have been for them "knowing they must be weary."[63] Hunt commented that the women relieved each other at times during meeting. Yet, they also "handed their infants to their husbands across the partition."[64] The importance of silent worship was recognised by all and no one felt that women were less deserving of meditation because they happened to be the mothers of young children. Women expected their husbands to assist them during worship time. This assistance from husbands and the community also explains how women with young children were able to accomplish the laborious business of the meeting, which required frequent attendance at lengthy business meetings and ongoing visitation.

Yet, the memorials also show the sense of duty and responsibility that women themselves placed on their position as wives and mothers among Friends. As an aspect of prescriptive literature, this was a responsibility that Friends wanted succeeding generations to appreciate. As one young woman recorded, marriage was a solemn time of accepting responsibility for a family: "I believe that thou [God] in thy providence has called me to leave my father's house to enter into the dignified station of a married woman, to be at the head of a family. I feel here I need the blessing of thy holy aid to rightly discharge the various duties that devolve upon me. Oh, that through my conduct none may take offence at the truth."[65] Once married and carrying the responsibility of wife and mother, either of her own children or, as was often the case, her stepchildren, many of these women found themselves immediately drawn into the travelling ministry.[66] Here, most clearly, one sees the inner turmoil these women experienced as they sought to balance the responsibilities of faith and family.

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[63] *Journal of the Life and Religious Labours of Sarah Hunt* (Philadelphia: Friends Book Association, 1892), 15. Even though the publication date on this work is late, its contents refer to the time period under consideration here.
[64] Ibid.

Sarah Tucker, for example, noted that although she married James Tucker, "a worthy Friend and elder," in May of 1813, she had "previous to [her] marriage felt drawn to visit the Quarterly Meetings of Salem, Vasalborough, and Sandwich."[67] This was a considerable trip. Nonetheless, only three months after her marriage she left her husband at home and, in the company of another woman minister, began her travels. Soon after returning home and settling into housekeeping with her husband and his children, she was "overtaken with unexpected trials and deep baptisms, being plunged into the very depths of distress both as to [her] outward and inward condition."[68] Tucker's trials included grave illness which often confined her to her room and bed for weeks and months at a time. However, whenever she was well enough she travelled in the ministry, commenting that her work added "much to the peace and satisfaction of [her] own mind."[69]

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[65] "Memoir of Susanna Kite Sharpless," in *Selections from the Letters of Thomas Kite to his Daughter Susanna Kite, White at Westtown Boarding School"* (Philadelphia: n.p., n.d), 31.

[66] The rate of remarriage among Quakers was very high. This created a high incidence of "blended" families and step-parenting. For those who did remarry, this usually happened once in their life, as in the life of Timothy Rogers who had two wives. Some individuals on Yonge Street were notable for the number of times they remarried. Remember Asa Rogers who married four times. He fathered a total of fifteen children. Samuel Hughes, on the other hand, who married three times, fathered no children, but he was stepfather to the daughter of his third wife. Although women more frequently filled the role of stepparent than men did, it was not uncommon for men to be stepfathers. For instance, Esther Winn's first husband, Nathan Bostwick, with whom she had five children, died in the 1813 epidemic. While her children were still young, she remarried to William Doan, with whom she had four children. Blended families were a common occurrence in the Society and Friends. This is attested to by the explicit instructions provided in the Discipline about remarriage.

[67] *Memoirs of Sarah Tucker*, 24.

[68] Ibid., 25.

Sarah Grubb, an English minister, told of similar struggles to walk the fine line of duty to faith and family. In a letter to her daughter she noted that as a new and nursing mother she was thankful for "engagements in the ministry around our dwelling." But in her counsel to her daughter, she also related that when her first born was only eight months old she had to leave the baby while she was away on ministry for five months. Grubb noted that she was accompanied on this journey by her husband. The baby, therefore, must have stayed with extended family or other Friends. Grubb was disturbed by her experiences remembering that "this, and many such sacrifices, have cost my nature much suffering, but I have apprehended them called for, as the first fruits of all bestowed upon us by our bountiful Creator."[70] In the battle between duty to faith and family, the message to Friends, especially women, was that faith was always to win.[71]

Memorials also provided some horrific examples of severe emotional, physical and spiritual trials that were the result of refusing the call to ministry. Again, the message here was that faithfulness to God was more important than anything else, even faithfulness to family. One woman minister, Huldah Hoag, whose husband was also a minister, reported numerous illnesses that she ascribed to her personal struggles in ministry. Since her husband was also a recorded minister, there were times when he was away on his own travels. On one of these occasions she became so ill that she coughed up large quantities of blood and could hardly move from her bed. She ascribed the source of her challenges to her failure to surrender to the Inner Light which had called her to travel. She recorded that "the hand of a Wise Disposer was laid upon me in judgement, as a prospect of visiting Philadelphia was with me continually."[72] Unable to wait for her husband's return, she wrote from her sickbed to inform him of her intent to travel commenting happily that "since I gave up to resign all and go, my health has improved to my own admiration. My cough, which was more severe than ever experienced before, is improving much."[73] Because she was so ill and could barely rise to speak, Hoag's father accompanied her on her trip, acting as her companion and nurse.

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[69] Ibid., 39.
[70] *A Selection from the Letters of the Late Sarah Grubb (formerly Sarah Lynes)* (Sudbury: J. Wright, 1848), 11.
[71] This is especially important given the number of women who married out of the Society.

The activity level of these women could only be kept up because of community support. Many of these women travelled in the ministry while they still had young children at home or while they were very ill. In order to free ministers to travel, the community had to be prepared to take on the daily responsibilities of that minister. Some women relied on husbands or older children to take charge of family duties when they travelled. In other cases extended family or close friends assisted. The memorials and the actions of Friends are clear: for those gifted in the ministry, it was expected that allowances would be made for them to travel, regardless of their temporal responsibilities. Spiritual responsibilities always superseded temporal responsibilities regardless of gender. Those left behind, whether women or men, considered their own role in freeing Friends for ministry as their own spiritual responsibility and ministry. Sacrifices were made to further the faith. One Friend remembered that his relatives in New York state donated a horse and wagon to his mother in Upper Canada expressly to enable his mother, who was a minister, to get to meeting.[74] Yet, although family often stepped in to assist, it was ultimately the meeting's responsibility to ensure that the family of travelling ministers were provided for. In fact, by signing a minute of travel in ministry, the meeting assumed responsibility for the financial cost of the minister's trip as well as care of the family that remained behind. Those who read the memorials and journals, no matter what their age, were consistently reminded of the significance of the community in advancing the faith.

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[72] *Memoir of Huldah Hoag*, (np: nd), 17.
[73] Ibid., 17-18.

The support women ministers received within their community was necessary to assist them in facing the challenges they encountered from men and women in mainstream society. This was clearly addressed in the memorials and journals of women who were active in public ministry. At a time when notions of true womanhood were on the rise, women who preached in the ministry were certainly an anomaly.[75] Public preaching was considered part of the public sphere and, therefore, a male preserve. In the nineteenth century, as notions of ideal womanhood came to be more closely associated with domesticity and submissiveness, the idea of women preaching publicly or teaching men became increasingly difficult for the Upper Canadian public to digest.[76] Attacks levelled at women who preached were ostensibly based on Paul's biblical command to the Corinthians that women should keep silent in churches.[77] However, women who ministered publicly were attacked for their lack of modesty, their brazenness, their arrogance, and their lack of silence. In short they were criticised for their "unfeminine" behaviour which was contrasted with more appropriate models of domestic femininity.[78] Therefore, although women ministers were welcomed by the Quaker community, they were not always welcomed outside Quaker circles, where they were open to criticism for their 'inappropriate' behaviour.

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[74] "Early History of Reuben and Sarah (Wright) Haight by their son, Samuel H. Haight, at Sparta, Canada, February 23, 1886," *Canadian Quaker History Journal* 58(1995): 15.

[75] The Methodist women who preached were also seen as an anomaly in the religious world of nineteenth-century Upper Canada. See Elizabeth Gillan Muir, *Petticoats in the Pulpit: The Story of Early Nineteenth-Century Methodist Women Preachers in Upper Canada*, 22.

[76] D.G. Bell's recent examination of women preachers in the Maritimes, "Allowed Irregularities: Women Preachers in the Early 19th-Century Maritimes," draws some interesting parallels to women preachers throughout British North America in the early nineteenth century. Bell comments that in the early years of the nineteenth century, women preachers were "not uncommon," even outside the sectarian groups. However, by the 1830s and certainly by mid-century developments such as "competition from males, rise of a pastoral model of ministry, [and] educational requisite" effectively extinguished opportunities for women to be involved in "pulpit ministry" (39). These conclusions coincide with those of Elisabeth Muir who accounts for the decline of "petticoats in the pulpit" in much the same way. See, Muir, *Petticoats in the Pulpit*, 180-209. The difference for Quaker women was that they continued to be active ministers. The reason for this relates to another of Bell's arguments and is part of what I contend sets the ministry of Quaker women apart. Bell notes that his study "uncovers no *tradition* [italics Bell's] of female preaching

Unlike weekly meeting for worship where men and women spoke freely to each other, ministers who travelled had meetings "appointed" in which they spoke. This allowed for some word-of-mouth advertising of the event. Since public ministers were some of the best speakers within the Society, these events were always well-attended and in frontier communities offered opportunities for both spiritual growth and entertainment. Quaker ministers did not use notes and were known to speak sometimes for well over an hour. As a result, many non-Quakers attended these meetings out of interest. Moreover, in places where there was no meetinghouse, or where the meetinghouse was small, Friends would usually approach the Methodists and ask permission to use their building. This had the potential of attracting a large group of Methodists to the meetings. Therefore, because the worshippers were not always 'friendly', it was not without some trepidation that female ministers approached these events. Just prior to attending one of

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in Maritime Protestantism" (4). Bell acknowledges that Quakerism had a long-established tradition of female preaching. Unlike their Protestant sisters, then, Quaker women regularly participated in public ministry. In some meetings female ministers outnumbered male ministers.

[77] "Let your women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law. And it they will learn any thing, let them ask their husbands at home: for it is a shame for women to speak in the church." I Corinthians 14: 34-35.

[78] Bell, "Allowed Irregularities," 33-5. Muir, *Petticoats in the Pulpit*, 185-190.

these meetings, Sarah Grubb wrote to her children that she felt "rather nervous, which is no wonder."[79] This nervousness often stemmed from the hostility women ministers faced because they dared to preach in public to a mixed group of men and women.

Some women ministers tackled the challenge of public ministry outright, specifically preaching on the spiritual authority of women. Most well-known for this was Priscilla Cadwallader, an active minister from Indiana. On an extended visit to the eastern states and Upper Canada in 1823-24, the subject of women's preaching came up repeatedly. One Friend in attendance at two of the meetings held at Wilmington, Delaware related Cadwallader's discourse on the subject, including her witty condemnation of men who, solely by virtue of their manhood, felt they were the only ones sufficiently qualified to provide religious instruction to women:

> [Cadwallader] …proceeded to show the equal authority of woman with man to preach the gospel. She mentioned that she had read the Scriptures attentively from Genesis to Revelation, and had never found any prohibition, but quite the contrary. That Deborah, Miriam and Huldah were prophetesses of the Lord; also that Anna is mentioned in the New Testament as a prophetess, and Phebe is spoken of by the Apostle as a servant of the church, and Priscilla as his helper in Christ Jesus. She said she knew that the same Apostle commanded that women should keep silence in the church, and if they will learn any thing they must ask their husbands at home. This was in reference to women who made impertinent inquiries of the assemblies of the people, but could no more be intended to prohibit woman's preaching, than to prohibit their husbands at home, and if it were to be thus construed, the poor women would be in a miserable state, as not one-third part of mankind was capable of affording them religious instruction.[80]

Such comments would hardly have been popular with much of mainstream society. The topic of the authority of women to preach resurfaced in Upper Canada where Cadwallader visited all the Canadian meetings. Obviously, she was at least somewhat convincing in her message. After one Upper Canadian meeting, a man who had attended the meeting solely to hear her preach approached Cadwallader and told her that, although he had rigidly opposed women's preaching and had made use of the same arguments she had used, "he was now satisfied he was mistaken, and that she was qualified and rightly commissioned to preach the Gospel."[81] Before leaving Upper Canada Cadwallader preached again on the subject of women's preaching. Those with her observed that she had handled the topic "in a masterly manner, to the great satisfaction of many present."[82] Friends in the Yonge Street meeting, which had more female than male ministers, no doubt appreciated the content of Cadwallader's messages, which encouraged women to take their place in the spiritual leadership of their community.[83]

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[79] *A Selection from the Letters of Sarah Grubb*, 280.
[80] *Memoir of Priscilla Cadwallader*, 21-2.

Even though the journals and memorials advocated the value of the ministry and the spiritual equality of women within that ministry, there was still an emphasis on the importance of women being good wives and mothers. This can be attributed to the awareness that, although few Quaker women would become ministers, almost all of them would become wives and mothers. There is no doubt that the women in these memorials were to serve as models of ideal Quaker womanhood. Huldah Hoag, who travelled freely in the ministry was consistently held up as "a worthy example" of a good wife, "being a true help meet, both spiritually and temporally."[84] Even at times of "great bodily debility, she continued to take oversight of her family and to give the direction of her domestic affairs until very near her death."[85] Hoag herself commented about her role: "I believe it is my duty to look after my family as long as I can."[86] Similarly, according to her memorial, Deborah Clark, an elder in Norwich Monthly Meeting, was an example of all things perfect in a Friend, a wife, and a mother. As a Friend "she was careful… to set an example of patience and moderation, refraining from unprofitable disputes, choosing rather to suffer in silence than contend, believing the Lord would plead His own cause and maintain the right."[87] As a wife she "manifested a deep concern for [her husband's] preservation, not withholding reproof when needful, but administering it in meekness and gentleness, yet with firmness. And when discouragement assailed [him] she administered words of encouragement and consolation."[88] As a mother she diligently guided her offspring, taking them regularly to meeting, even though this could only be accomplished with great effort. Clark's husband gave an indication of the time and effort that would have been consumed with attending meeting in the wilds of Upper Canada:

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[81] Ibid., 41-2. Quote on page 42.
[82] Ibid., 43.
[83] The number of recorded ministers in each meeting changed regularly as ministers migrated to or from a particular meeting, died, or were formally recognised in ministry. At the time that Cadwallader was travelling through Upper Canada, the number of ministers in each of the preparative meetings of Yonge Street varied. At Yonge Street PM there were five elders, and one minister: Martha Bonnel. There were no recognised ministers or elders at Queen Street or Uxbridge at this time. Martha Widdifield was the only minister at Whitchurch; there were also two elders. Pickering was the exception; there was only a single elder there and two ministers: Nicholas Brown and John Haight. With the addition of Margaret Brown, who arrived at Pickering in 1827 and Esther Doan, who was recognised as a minister at Yonge Street shortly after that, women were well-represented as ministers in the Yonge Street community. Compare this to the other Upper Canadian meetings at the same time. The Adolphustown Monthly Meeting had three ministers, all men. The West Lake Monthly Meeting only had a single male minister. Pelham Monthly Meeting had one male and one female minister. Finally, the Norwich Monthly Meeting had two ministers; one of them was a woman. In all of the meetings the representation of women and men as elders was virtually equal.

> We lived seven miles from our [preparative] Meeting for nine years, and, such was the testimony she bore to the importance of attending religious meetings, that, during that time, she faithfully attending with me, taking our little ones with us, and walking that distance several times. Our Monthly Meetings were held at a distance of fifty miles, which she attended, riding in a lumber wagon, and not unfrequently carrying a child in her arms; and I have often heard her say, that notwithstanding the fatigue, she had never gone when she could say she was sorry.[89]

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[84] *Memoir of Huldah Hoag*, 7.
[85] Ibid., 21.
[86] Ibid.
[87] *A Memorial Concerning Deborah Clark, Deceased, by her Husband Freeman Clark: Reprinted by Direction of Genesee Yearly Meeting, Held at Farmington New York, 1874, In consequence of an accidental omission of a portion of the original* (Rochester: William S. Falls, 1874), 3.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Ibid.

Again, the message for the reader was that sacrifices for the faith were always worthwhile.

The value of motherhood extolled by the memorials and journals served a dual purpose. Adult women who were mothers were reminded of the weight of responsibility they bore in training up children in the way they should go. Youths, on the other hand, were reminded of their duty as children to heed their parents warnings against the snares of life outside the Society. Readers were introduced to model mothers like Huldah Hoag who "was deeply concerned to bring up her children in the way they should go, maintaining parental authority with firmness, yet through the benign influence of the law of love, often seeking in humble prayer, divine aid that she might discharge her duty towards them in a suitable manner."[90] Since parents were responsible for maintaining the barriers of a peculiar people around their children until they were old enough to maintain them themselves, the importance of "affectionate control" was a central theme in the memorials. Samuel Hughes of Yonge Street fondly remembered his mother's role in this process of affection and control in his memorial to her:[91]

> Thy watchful eyes around my bed
> Did guard me while I slept,
> Thine arm a pillow for my head,
> Did sooth me when I wept.
>
> A thousand thousand parent cares
> Thou hadst for me when young,
> To save me from the dangerous snares
> That round—that round me hung.

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[90] *Memoir of Huldah Hoag*, 8.

[91] This memorial is quite similar in content to the memories Nathaniel Burwash had of his mother. Burwash remembered that his mother, "detected the seeds of sin in the passions of childhood and strove to check them at the first budding of their growth." Quoted in Marguerite Van Die, *An Evangelical Mind*, 21.

Thou wast a hedge around my youth,
To keep my deeds from sin;
Thy counsels, like fair walls of truth,
Did keep my footsteps in.[92]

Through the memorials and journals, women were continually exhorted to remember their role in instilling Quaker values in each successive generation.

* * *

Where the memorials and journals provided graphic illustrations of the lives of the righteous, visitation put Friends face to face with those who were recognised as the spiritual leaders in the Society of Friends. Visitation was an active form of informal education because it involved interaction between the visited and the visitor. Locally within each meeting, women visited each others' homes as an aspect of implementing the Discipline. Further to that, Friends were involved in visitation as part of their care and oversight of one another. Visitation into each others' homes was the perfect way for the leadership to determine the strength of the faith among the individual families within the meeting. Through the visits of elders, ministers and overseers, children were exposed to the precepts of Quakerism on a different level than they would experience in their individual family, especially since ministers and elders were keen to have "religious opportunities" in the families that they visited. Women obviously took great encouragement from the visitation of other women, and they took great pride in entertaining visiting Friends, especially "messengers of the Gospel." In fact, one woman's memorial encapsulated both themes of visitation and the education of children stating "that it was the summit of her temporal desires to be able to entertain her friends comfortably and to give her children a good education; more than that she did not ask."[93]

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[92] *Memorial of Eleanor Hughes, who deceased March 9, 1825, at Gwillimbury (East) Upper Canada, aged about 74 years,* MS 303, Reel 54, D-2-5.

Although local visitation was important in the strengthening of local community bonds and socialising Friends in the faith, the work of visiting ministers was especially powerful. Ministers who travelled extensively in the service of the Gospel were essential in nurturing the long-distance ties that drew the transatlantic community of Friends together.[94] Their work was also strenuous and required great sacrifice. Proportionally few were called to this service, but those who were often gave up comfortable lives to travel and visit in remote meetings. As a result of these visitations, Quakers on the frontier found themselves reunited with ministers from their meeting of origin or introduced to some of the most charismatic speakers in the Society of Friends. In the period between 1800 and 1835 at least fifty-six ministers from the United States and England visited Upper Canadian meetings; each of them was accompanied by at least one companion who was also involved in ministry. In the same period, Upper Canadian ministers were also busy and engaged in thirty-eight visits of their own to other Upper Canadian meetings and meetings in the United States. Interestingly, of those ministers who visited the Upper Canadian meetings, fully half were women.[95] In addition to the physical trials they endured travelling through bush and swamps fending off mosquitoes in the Upper Canadian wilderness, the willingness of these women ministers to leave their families and travel in an 'unladylike' employ made them the objects of prejudice from non-Quakers wherever they went. This, in itself, served as an aspect of the informal education of the youth whom they visited, reminding them of their identity as a peculiar people.

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[93] "Memoir of Huldah Hoag," 7-8.

[94] See Angus J. L. Winchester, "Ministers, Merchants and Migrants: Cumberland Friends and North America in the Eighteenth Century," *Quaker History* 80, 2(Fall 1991): 85-99. For an examination of women's role in visitation and its centrality in forging the bonds of community see Nancy Tomes, "The Quaker Connection: Visiting Patterns among Women in the Philadelphia Society of Friends, 1750-1800," in Michael Zuckerman, ed., *Friends and Neighbors: Group Life in America's First Plural Society* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982), 174-95.

[95] Women led twenty-eight of the fifty-six ministerial visits. This does not include women who accompanied their husbands or other women but accounts for those visits where women were the primary ministers. This coincides with other examinations of women in the travelling ministry. For instance, Margaret Hope Bacon's study of American women who travelled in overseas ministry to Great Britain, concludes that of those ministers who travelled in the ministry from the United States to Great Britain in the period from 1685 to 1835, forty-seven, or 34% were women. Margaret Hope Bacon, "Quaker Women

Travelling women ministers were often absent from their families for many weeks or months; in rare cases they were gone for years. For instance, Phebe Roberts who travelled to Upper Canada in 1821 journeyed 2200 miles and attended forty-five meetings in five months and five days.[96] Priscilla Cadwallader who visited Upper Canada a number of times, trekked over 2400 miles on her 1823-24 trip through Pennsylvania, New York and Upper Canada.[97] However, the record for women must go to Elizabeth Robson who left her family in England for almost four years to visit the North American meetings. During that time she travelled over 18,000 miles and attended 1134 meetings; she also recorded 3592 family visits during that time![98] As these women visited families and meetings and ministered throughout the society, they formed an important aspect of informal education. Through the travelling women ministers, young people on Yonge Street witnessed the practical application of spiritual equality in the ministry. However, in no case should it be assumed that women who travelled in the ministry were working to espouse 'liberation' for women or 'women's rights'.[99] Such an interpretation of their

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in Overseas Ministry," *Quaker History* 77, 2(Fall 1988): 94. It stands to reason that visits on the continent would have an even higher percentage of women represented in the travelling ministry.

[96] "Phebe Roberts' Diary," *Ontario History* 42, 1(1950): 46.

[97] *Memoir of Priscilla Cadwallader*, 25.

[98] "Elizabeth Robson, American Diary, 1824-28," in "Quaker Women's Diaries: The diaries of Elizabeth Robson, 1813-1843," World Microfilm Publications, Reel 6, MS 133.

[99] This is the conclusion presented by Margaret Hope Bacon in "Quaker Women in Overseas Ministry."

work is incorrect because it imposes a secular twentieth-century interpretation on their intentions. In all cases, these women wrote of being "bowed low," constrained, or not being released from their work. This can hardly be equated with 'liberation' as we speak of it today. Quaker women had a faith which not only permitted them to preach publicly but encouraged them to do so when called. However, these women were in God's service, and their 'freedom' came from that, not from any notion of equal rights or liberation from a secular standpoint. Therefore, their role was in sustaining the faith, not as liberators of women. Any opportunities that widened the scope of their "sphere" must be viewed in that light.

Travelling women ministers experienced an acute sense of sacrifice when they felt called to leave their families for extended periods of time. On departing from England for her trip to North America, Elizabeth Robson recorded the following words:

> Last fourth day the 11th instant in the afternoon I parted with my sweet little daughters & embarked on board the Montizuma Captain Potts Master bound for Philadelphia, my beloved husband my four dear sons dear daughter Margaret and dear Frances Thompson and some other friends set us as far as the steem [sic] boat went I then parted with them and they with me in great tenderness, having previously commended them all with myself to the protecting care of a kind and gracious Providence humbly trusting that he who had brought my beloved husband and I together and blessed us with precious children, would see fit after a while to persist us to meet again in peace but I desire not to speak much about my return at present, but to endeavour to look steadily unto him who I trust hath called for this great sacrifice to be made and seek for ability to do His will and not my own.[100]

Because ministers continued their travelling until they sensed they were released from it, Robson left England without any notion of when she would return. This sense of continuing until "released" was expressed by all of the travelling ministers. The difficulties of travel in Upper Canada, well into the 1820s, made the question of "release" particularly acute. While she was in Uxbridge, Upper Canada, Priscilla Cadwallader wrote to her husband in Indiana: "How much further north and East I shall have to go, is yet concealed from me; therefore must leave that to Him who knows what is best, and how far to lead so feeble a being, who can live where the good Master is pleased to lead...."[101] These women were some of the few who really did put their faith ahead of their families or their personal needs. Their contact with Yonge Street Quakers would have been a dynamic call to piety among Friends in the community.

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[100] "Elizabeth Robson, American Diary, 1824-28," 16-08-1824.

As much as the travelling ministry was supposed to be a unifying factor drawing Friends closer together, women who travelled in the ministry often found themselves pulled into the fractious doctrinal arguments of the Society that emerged after 1815. For instance, Elizabeth Robson's trip to North America in the years just preceding the spiteful separation of the Hicksites and the Orthodox was no accident. As one of the most ardent supporters of the Orthodox cause and a elite member of the London Yearly Meeting she was well-placed along side men like Thomas Shillatoe to promote the Orthodox cause in North America.[102] While in North America, Robson came into direct and antagonistic conflict with Priscilla Cadwallader, who espoused the Hicksite cause. The hostility of the disagreements in the years leading up to the actual split spilled over into verbal assaults at meetings and, in some cases, the refusal of the meeting to allow ministry within their limits. As difficult as it was for women Friends to experience hostility from those outside the Society, it must have been much worse to endure it from their own community. The situation in the North American meetings delayed Robson's return to London. When she finally felt released from her ministry and was able to return to England in the summer of 1828 she happily concluded: "Thus after many perils by Sea & by Land and amongst false bretheren [sic], I was permitted through adorable goodness to reach my own dear home and to meet my beloved husband and precious children in sweet peace to our humble rejoicing...."[103]

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[101] *Memoir of Priscilla Cadwallader*, 107.

[102] Robson was a good friend of Elizabeth Gurney Fry. Fry's brother, Joseph Gurney, espoused evangelical beliefs that eventually caused another split in the North American meetings. Even though the London Yearly Meeting did not split into Hicksite and Orthodox branches, Friends like Sarah Grubb expressed doubts at the doctrine being espoused so strongly by men like Gurney. Therefore, the politics of the London Yearly Meeting spilled over into North America. When the North America yearly meetings began

The work of women and men ministers in travelling and visitation served to reinforce the importance of following the lead of the Inner Light. The teachings that children received in their homes at the hands of their mothers would have been strengthened by the visits of those who suffered strenuous circumstances to support the ministry. And the place of spiritual equality in the faith of Friends was embroidered into the lives of the 'saints' that travelled in ministry. This is borne out by the value placed on the memorials and journals, which recorded the travails of ministers from which future generations could learn.

Sustaining the community of Friends from generation to generation was an ongoing effort. Although it had elements in formal schooling and the specific teaching of certain religious principles, it required daily socialisation in the precepts of Quakerism. Friends did not undertake the process of social reproduction alone or even within the local meeting. The Society of Friends viewed the process of sustaining the faith community as sufficiently important to muster the efforts of the extended community. In this effort women played a pivotal role, not only in carrying out the instructions of the

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to split, both the Hicksites and Orthodox claimed to be the descendants of the earliest Friends, and therefore the only true Friends. The London Yearly Meeting, however, only recognised the Orthodox group.

yearly meetings but in establishing the direction those instructions would take. Throughout the Society women worked together to train up their children, keenly aware that their labours were not confined to their local communities but crossed geographic boundaries uniting believers in a community of faith. On Yonge Street this was no different. Conscious of their place in the larger Society of Friends, women of the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting were engaged in "education" in its broadest sense on a daily basis. These methods of informal education, along with the meetings for business and worship became the most significant way of sustaining the unique aspects of the Quaker faith community.

As keepers of the faith, women clung to the biblical promise that a child trained properly would remain true to the faith.[104] Whether or not children chose to remain members of the faith community was another issue entirely. Because they lacked a written doctrine, the tensions that existed between the unity and purity of the community plagued the Society of Friends from their inception. The devout, who placed their faith above all other considerations, worked tirelessly to purify their community. Many times that meant making decisions to disown Friends who strayed from strict adherence to the Discipline. However, being disowned did not necessarily mean being removed from the community. The choices that each Quaker child made about his or her faith were based on a number of factors of identity. Whether they continued to consider themselves as Quakers or not does not minimise the reality that, from generation to generation, Quaker

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[103] "Elizabeth Robson, American Diary, 1824-28,"final entry, no date. 1828 was the year that the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting experienced the split between Hicksites and Orthodox Friends. No doubt Robson realised there was little more she could do in North America and returned home to England.
[104] "Train up a child in the way he should go and when he is old he will not depart from it." Proverbs 22:6.

women were involved in a network of informal education that worked to sustain the greater community of faith and the tenets on which it was based.

Chapter Four
'a turbulent and contentious spirit': Discipline among Women in the Yonge Street Community of Friends

At the December 1806 business meeting of the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, the women's meeting sent a request across to the men's meeting soliciting their assistance in the difficult case of Kezia James. The women complained that Kezia James "has been guilty of unbecoming behaviour in a meeting for worship and through a turbulent and contentious spirit hath been endeavouring to defame the character of friends—not only amongst members but to those not of our society, whereby she hath wilfully asserted things which appear to be false."[1] Unfortunately, given the nature of meeting minutes, the specifics of Kezia James's assertions are unknown. However, the men did agree to assist the women in the case. A group of men was appointed to join the women in a visit to the James household on Yonge Street.[2] In February of 1807, the appointed committee reported back to the Monthly Meeting that they "had an opportunity with her and afterwards had her and her accusers face to face and they being unitedly of the opinion that the charge against her was justly supported and she not appearing to them to be in a suitable disposition of mind at present to make satisfaction for her misconduct," it was decided that she be disowned.[3] Kezia James disagreed with the committee's decision and, following her rights laid out in the Discipline, promptly informed the monthly meeting that she had decided to appeal to the Yearly Meeting.[4] This was not a decision taken lightly as appeals required the attendance of the appellant at the appeal to defend their case. A trip from Yonge Street to Philadelphia would have been both time-consuming and costly. Yet, in August of 1808, the monthly meeting of men recorded that Amos Armitage, John Doan and Reuben Burr were appointed "to attend the Yearly meeting with the proceedings of this meeting in [Kezia James's] case."[5] Unfortunately, those who had been appointed to attend the yearly meeting in the case could not attend. David Willson was added to the group and they were instructed to attend the following yearly meeting with the minutes regarding James's case.[6] The case does not appear again the minutes.[7] However, it did not disappear. Kezia James pressed her case and was successful in having the decision of the monthly meeting against her overturned. When the meeting neglected to record her reinstatement, James continued to press the women until they conceded their error and restored her to full membership.[8]

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[1] Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 1806-1818, MS 303, Reel 27, B-2-83, 18-12-1806.

[2] Appointed in this case were Samuel Lundy, Francis Wasly and Abraham Webster. They joined with Sarah Lundy, Eleanor Hughes, and Mary Rogers.

[3] Yonge Street Montly Meeting, 1806-1818, 12-02-1807. Israel Lundy and David Willson were appointed to assist the women in preparing a testimony against Kezia James. The depth of contentiousness in this case is seen in the fact that the women did not deliver the prepared testimony themselves, as would normally have been the case. Martha Armitage and Mary Rogers were appointed to meet with two of the meeting's most elite members, Asa Rogers and Timothy Rogers, to deliver a testimony against Kezia James and to inform James of her right to appeal. Yonge Street Monthly Meeting of Women Friends, 1806-1817, MS 303, Reel 49, C-3-110, 12-03-1807 and Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 1806-1818, 12-03-1807. It

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should be noted that Martha Armitage and Mary Rogers were no light weights in the Yonge Street Meeting. Both were overseers; Martha Armitage later became an elder.

[4] Normally appeals from monthly meetings went up to quarterly meetings. However, the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting reported directly to the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting until the three Upper Canadian meetings were unified in 1809 under the Canada Half-Years Meeting which had the authority of a quarterly meeting. That meeting was subordinate to the New York Yearly Meeting.

[5] Yonge Street Monthly Meeting of Men Friends, MS 303, Reel 59, C397A, 10-08-1808.

[6] Ibid., 16-02-1809. One of the probable reasons for the appointees inability to attend the Yearly Meeting was no doubt the first epidemic which was claiming the lives of Friends on Yonge Street at an alarming rate. In fact, Ezekiel James Senior, the husband of Kezia James, died in this epidemic. This in itself would have hindered James's own pursuit of the appeal.

[7] The reason that the case disappeared from the minutes for a period of time was no doubt due to the fact that the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting changed from being under the care of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting to the New York Yearly Meeting. In the transfer of business from one yearly meeting to another, it would have been easy for long-standing cases like this one to slip through the cracks.

[8] Although Kezia James had the decision of the monthly meeting overturned at the yearly meeting in Philadelphia in 1809, it was not until the end of 1813 that the women finally recorded any mention of it. According to the minutes, it was "neglect" which resulted in the minute not being recorded. However, James had obviously pressed her reinstatement into membership in the meeting as the women recorded the appointment of a committee of four women to visit James to determine the strength of her case. When James presented the minute from the yearly meeting, the committee had no choice but to have it duly recorded in the minutes. Therefore, in January 1814, seven years after her case began, Kezia James was returned to full membership in the Society. Yonge Street Monthly Meeting of Women Friends, 1806-1817,

The particular case against Kezia James, evocative as it is in the minutes, with its reference to her unbecoming behaviour and troublesome spirit, illustrates a number of issues related to discipline within the Society in general and within the community at Yonge Street specifically.[9] The meeting minutes provide the skeletal record of the community.[10] Although it cannot be denied that there are times when the minutes are maddeningly silent in their cursory form, a careful examination of the meeting minutes in the context of the Discipline and other meeting records can be much more revealing than originally thought. For instance, the priorities set by the community and the issues of foremost importance to Friends on Yonge Street can be determined by their place in the minutes. In the case of the Yonge Street meeting, the minutes also show the impact of the frontier on the implementation of the Discipline. For example, in the first generation of the community, business occasionally took considerably longer to transact that it did later.[11] Because women had separate business meetings, the minutes also provide a window into the community of women, illuminating those issues of importance to Quaker women. An examination of both the men's and women's business meeting minutes indicates that, while women and men faced similar cases of dealings within the

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16-12-1813 and 13-01-1801. I would like to thank Sandra Fuller for drawing my attention to the reinstatement of Kezia James.

[9] The use of church discipline to control the behaviour of members was not unique to Quakers. Rather church discipline was a routine aspect of church membership in Upper Canada. See, for instance, Lynne Marks, "Railing, Tattling, and General Rumour: Gossip, Gender, and Church Regulation in Upper Canada," *Canadian Historical Review* 81, 3(2000): 380-402. There were a number of mechanisms besides gossip which were used to control behaviour in local communities. For instance, the charivari allowed community members to express their disapproval of certain behaviours. See, for instance, Bryan Palmer, "Discordant Music: Charivaris and Whitecapping in Nineteenth-Century North America," *Labour/ Le Travailleur* 3(1978): 5-62.

[10] The meeting minutes of the Society of Friends function much like the 'case file' records that have increasingly been used by historians seeking to shed some light on the lives of those in the past who have left no personal records. For a discussion of the merits and pitfalls of using these types of records see Franca Iacovetta and Wendy Mitchinson, eds. *On the Case: Explorations in Social History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998).

context of the Discipline, women were more likely to appeal their disownments than men. This attests to the value women placed on their membership in the Society and the rights that they felt their membership gave them plus their own understanding of their position in the Yonge Street community of Friends. Most significant, the case of Kezia James and others like it demonstrate that women did not necessarily meekly accept the chastising of the community of Friends, both male and female.[12] The exercise of church discipline was an active process participated in by both those being disciplined and those doing the disciplining. On issues in which they believed strongly, women were prepared to challenge the manner in which the Discipline was applied and press for their right to have an active voice in the direction of their community.

The application of the Discipline in the meeting called for girls and women to put into practice the precepts of Friends that they learned through their formal and informal education. It also gave Quaker women a greater awareness of how they could shape their community. It was here that notions of spiritual equality gained their clearest expression. Exercising the Discipline required both an understanding of the Discipline and a mindfulness of the behaviour and activities of Friends in one's local community.

When the Discipline was first designed, its purpose was to provide a framework of unity. Within the evolving structure of business meetings and the ever-maturing

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[11] Although the frontier was a factor in carrying out meeting business well into the 1820s, which was part of the second-generation community, it is very apparent in the earliest years of the meeting.

[12] Even though women's meetings were separate, the Discipline did not allow women's meetings to "receive nor disown members without the concurrence of men's monthly meetings." This was standard in all the Disciplines of each yearly meeting. This meant that women's challenges to or appeals of discipline were aimed at the entire community, not just at their sisters in the faith. By 1830, the Discipline of the New York Yearly Meeting was revised to require men's meetings to seek the concurrence of the women's meeting prior to disowning a member. Quote from *Discipline of the Yearly Meeting of Friends, Held in New York, For the State of New York, and Parts Adjacent: As revised and adopted, in the sixth month, 1810* (New York: Collins and Perkins, 1810), 17. Hereafter referred to as *Discipline of the New York Yearly Meeting, 1810*.

Discipline, the extended transatlantic community developed. Friends in local meetings, like Yonge Street, had the advantage of knowing they were an integral part of a larger faith community. Friends in leadership at the yearly meetings had the advantage of knowing that the Discipline and the structure of meetings provided a blueprint for community development. The strength of the first-generation community came in part from the exercise of the Discipline in local business meetings.

Ironically, it was the increasingly rigid reinforcement of the Discipline that led to the fragmentation of Friends both locally and in the extended Society of Friends. One of the greatest strengths of Quaker unity had been the use of consensus based on the guidance of the Inner Light. This provided for great latitude in the interpretation of disputes over opposing points of community government. Rarely was Quakerism draconian in practice. With the withdrawal of Friends from mainstream society in the eighteenth century and the insistence of rigidity upon the application of the Discipline, disownments skyrocketed.[13] As Friends began to study the Discipline more carefully and scrutinise the lives of their neighbours and friends more closely, business meetings were occupied with a multitude of complaints. In this period, Friends were still able to contest the usage of the Discipline in their local communities. However, when challenges to the

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[13] For instance, the reformation of the Society, which began at the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1755, bore fruit quickly. In 1756, the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting reported 64.1 percent more violations of Discipline than they had in 1755. The next significant increased appeared in 1763 when the percentage of disownments was 59.5 percent higher than it had been in 1762. Until 1783, the annual increase in percentage of disownments never dropped below 50 percent; it peaked in 1775 at 73.3 percent. Jack Marietta, *The Reformation of American Quakerism, 1748-1783* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1984), 54-5.

Discipline became unacceptable, as they did in the second-generation community on Yonge Street, the community lost the flexibility that gave it unity and strength.[14]

The community government created by the Discipline had limitations. In some cases interpretation of the Discipline was straightforward; in other cases it was not. A "departure of plainness" was much more easily addressed than a "turbulent and contentious spirit." In difficult cases local meetings like Yonge Street interpreted the Discipline within the context of their own community. Individual personalities seemed to play a role in determining who or what was defined as obstreperous. Although not a frequently recorded offence, to be branded as one who encouraged disunity was serious. Such a spirit was evidence that the individual in question was not being led by the Inner Light. The minutes show that gender did not play a role in how contentiousness was treated within the meeting. It was frowned upon equally by both men and women. Even though these transgressions were treated similarly in both the men's and women's meetings, these cases provide interesting evidence about the strong women who gave leadership to and moulded the Yonge Street community. They demonstrate that the community of Friends on Yonge Street was not simply defined unilaterally by the central authority of the Yearly Meeting and the Discipline it espoused. It was actively shaped by those who lived in the community and were responsible for interpreting and executing the Discipline within the context of the meeting. Women were persistent participants in this process, influencing their community at every level.

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[14] Beginning about 1815, challenges to the Discipline became increasingly unacceptable throughout the Society of Friends. What happened on Yonge Street was a function of what occurred in the North

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The Quaker meeting was the dominant force in the expression of a Friend's faith. The meeting was not just an apparatus that oversaw discipline and enforced the unique testimonies of the Society of Friends. It was, above all, the body which provided 'care' to the flock. In addition to implementing the Discipline and providing spiritual shepherding, the monthly meeting was concerned with supplying education to children and fostering parents in raising their children consistently with the ideals of Quakerism. The meeting provided schools, a library of Quaker books, and assisted parents in placing their children in appropriate apprentice positions. For those in need the meeting ensured that relief was available and that needy children were educated to 'fit them for business.' Those experiencing financial difficulties were given financial counsel to assist them in clearing themselves of debt. When differences arose between members, the meeting provided an arbitrator to expeditiously settle the problems. Essentially, as the body that implemented the Discipline, the meeting was set up to oversee all aspects of a Friend's life.

The apparatus of hierarchical meetings that evolved had begun as a mechanism to ensure a standard of behaviour among all members of the Society of Friends. As much as it became an exercise in social control, the original concern that created the Discipline and the meeting apparatus was the consideration that the Society would suffer as a result of the errant behaviour of some of its members. The Discipline had developed in order to ensure "the preservation of all in unity of faith and practice." As a unifying and centralising force in the Society, it provided the framework

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American Society of Friends.

> …for the government of Friends, overseers, and meeting, with a view that in the exercise thereof, the unfaithful, the immoral, and the libertine professors may be seasonably reminded of their danger and of their duty; as well as of the labour which in gospel love hath been from time to time bestowed for their help and recovery….[15]

The Discipline governed a Friend's life from birth to death. It stated that Friends were required to register their children's births with the meeting; it set stipulations for their religious and academic education; it set standards for the choice of an appropriate spouse; and it ensured that burial occurred in a decent and orderly fashion. In between birth and death, the Discipline codified a Friend's behaviour. The Discipline was a living document; it could and did change as need determined. As time passed, Friends became stricter in some areas; in others they became more tolerant.

The Discipline was formally implemented in a structure of hierarchical meetings which began at the Preparative Meeting. However, prior to an issue coming to the attention of the business meeting, it had been extensively discussed informally at the community level. The method of invoking the Discipline was based on Christ's instructions to his disciples in *Matthew 18: 15-17*:

> if thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault, between thee and him alone: if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses, every work may be established. And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it to the church; but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as a heathen-man and a publican.[16]

Complaints against individuals who had committed an infraction of the Discipline were ideally to be dealt with according to this injunction. Friends would watch over each other's behaviour and bring to the attention of their fellow believers what they believed were infractions of the Discipline. In some cases incidents of behaviour could be dealt with privately and might only include an admonition to the individual in question. This might apply to areas such as keeping company with a non-member or failing to use plain language. However, cases which were in opposition to the testimonies of the Discipline and stood to harm the Society in the eyes of non-Friends, required further 'dealing' or treatment. Complaints were given in writing to an overseer who was responsible for determining the nature and extent of the infraction, for visiting the offender and ascertaining the disposition of the offender towards the transgression, and, if necessary, for presenting the complaint at the preparative meeting. Once the complaint was entered at the preparative meeting, the appropriate supporting evidence was also collected and representatives were selected to take the business forward to the monthly meeting. Therefore, once the complaint had reached the monthly meeting, it was fairly well established, in the minds of the overseers at least, that the transgressor was guilty.

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[15] *Discipline of the New York Yearly Meeting 1810*, 5-6.

The monthly meeting appointed a committee to visit the miscreant to judge their disposition. Usually the committee tried to accomplish this before the next monthly meeting. However, there were times when the nature of the offence or the exigencies of the circumstances of distance, weather, or health could delay the case for a number of months. This was often the case in the early years of the Yonge Street meeting, especially when business had to be dealt with through the monthly meeting at Pelham. Even when Yonge Street had its own monthly meeting, those who lived at Uxbridge or Pickering in the years before the roads were well developed found that distance remained

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[16] All scriptural passages are taken from the King James Bible, which was the translation used by the Society of Friends during the period covered by this work.

an issue in executing the business of the meeting.[17] However, once the offender had been visited by the committee, the transgressor could either ignore the committee or choose to acknowledge the error and submit an offering of acknowledgement to the monthly meeting, publicly condemning their behaviour. These were presented in writing to the Monthly Meeting and were usually quite straightforward. Consider, for instance, the acknowledgement produced by Martha Armitage when she requested readmission to membership among Friends:

> Being sensible of my deviation for which I was disowned my sincere desire is that I may become a member amongst you again hopeing [sic] by futer conduct may render me worthy.[18]

Once the acknowledgement was entered at the monthly meeting, those in attendance decided whether or not to accept it. Acceptance or rejection of the acknowledgement depended greatly on the report of the visiting committee. There were occasions where acknowledgements were rejected because the committee did not feel that the offender had demonstrated a suitably remorseful disposition. If the acknowledgement was accepted, the paper was 'published', or read in the meeting for worship to which the individual belonged. Depending on the nature of the offence, the acknowledgement could also be posted on the door of the meeting house or in the public marketplace. This was considered a suitable chastisement and warning to others who might be tempted to follow the wrong path.

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[17] For instance, one travelling minister, frustrated at the length of his journey in Upper Canada, commented on the difficulties Upper Canadian Friends endured in their business and daily lives:
"I feel often very thoughtful at being delayed so long in this province but don't see how I could have avoided it, friends being scattered over such an extensive country & the roads so exceeding bad—I consider it a favour to have escaped thus far without bodily injury, except from the bites of mosquitos, the effects of which have been rather taxing & occasion me to some almost sleepless nights…. The first settlers in the different parts of this woody country, many of whom are friends, have had & some of them still have many hardships to endure. The cutting down of the Trees and the burning of them is exceedingly Labourious, but they are exceedingly hardy & seem contented with their allotment." Isaac Stephenson to Hannah Stephenson, 16-09-1824, MS 303, Reel 54, D-2-10.

[18] CYM Archives, Box 23, "Yonge Street," unmarked file. Although the acknowledgement is undated, the meeting minutes tell us that it was presented to the monthly meeting on April 18, 1816. Armitage was readmitted to membership in June 1816. Yonge Street Monthly Meeting Women, 1806-1817, MS 303, Reel 49, C-3-110.

If the offenders did not condemn their transgression or if the acknowledgement was not accepted, the miscreants were testified against. Testimonies of disownment clearly laid out three points: the violations for which the offenders were being disowned, the fact that treatment had been attempted, and a statement indicating the desire of the meeting that the transgressors come to an awareness of their sin so that they might be reinstated into membership. This fulfilled the instruction in the Discipline that disowned Friends "be made sensible that they themselves [were] the sole cause of their separation from religious communion and fellowship."[19] Usually there was a single offence which resulted in the disownment. However, in serious cases where the infraction or series of transgressions stood to bring serious harm to the Society, the testimony listed the catalogue of deviations as well as comments about the individual's poor spiritual state. This was the case in the testimony against Joseph Leavens:

> Whereas Joseph Leavens having had a birthright amongst friends but for want of taking heed to the Dictates of truth in his own breast has for a long time neglected to attend our meetings for worship and Discipline and has suffered his unmortified will so to predominate as to beget in his mind a spirit of hardness toards [sic] his friends in which Disposition he has made use of many unsavory Disrespectful Expresions respecting friends who Resides [sic] in the neighbourhood friends who have visited us from a Distance & our meetings, likewise as a spectator attended military Exhibitions on the Days of General muster or trainings and horserasing [sic] at which place he laid a wager and is in the practice of uncovering his head, making use of the Compliments of the wourld [sic] and Denying that he is a member of our society when amongst other People for which Deviations we have endeavoured to treat with him which had not the Desired Effect, therefore we Disown him from being a member of our Society untill [sic] he through true repentance and amendment of life condems the same to the satisfaction of this meeting which that he may is our sincere Desire.[20]

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[19] *Discipline of the New York Yearly Meeting, 1810*, 5.

[20] CYM Archives, Box 21 "Pelham," unmarked file. Dated 01-12-1802. All spelling as in original.

The testimony was published in the same way that acknowledgements were publicised. Thereafter, the transgressor was considered disowned and no longer under the care of the meeting.

For Quakers, disownment was not the equivalent of banishment, nor was it ever considered final. Disownment did not signify a fall from grace or damnation. Disowned Friends could continue to attend meeting for worship; they were not, however, permitted to attend the meeting for business. This effectively silenced any formal voice they might have in their community. At any time after being disowned, a Quaker could acknowledge his or her wrongdoing and come back under the care of the meeting. There was no kind of behaviour or belief that Friends could not forgive, as long as the individual demonstrated suitable remorse and condemned their transgressions to the satisfaction of the meeting. Disownment, as translated by Quakers from Christ's injunction, was not a judgement on the salvation of the offender; it existed to ensure the integrity of the reputation of the Society and its religious testimonies. Historically Quakers had come to realise that they could not force their members to behave in certain ways. By denying fellowship with those who refused to follow the behavioural mandates established by the yearly meetings, however, Friends could ensure that their persecutors had no fodder with which to slander the Society. However, many Friends who were no longer on membership lists continued to worship and identify themselves as Quakers.

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The frequency with which contraventions of the Discipline appear in the Yonge Street meeting minutes indicate that the community was often faced with challenges, however subtle, to the rules or testimonies under which Friends lived. Those testimonies which seemed to create the most discussion in the Yonge Street meeting were similar to those that created difficulties in other meetings. Contraventions of the testimonies on plainness, marriage to non-members, sexual sins, oaths, and military activity were relatively common in the minutes through both the first and second generations of the community. They were also treated in a relatively straightforward manner.[21]

Plainness was one of the most important testimonies for Friends. Not only was it regularly queried, but it appears consistently as a matter of concern in the meeting minutes.[22] The object of the testimony requiring plainness in dress and address was first and foremost to provide a distinctive marker of identification which would separate Friends from the larger society and identify them as 'a peculiar people.' Plain speech originated in the language of George Fox's day which applied 'thee' and 'thou' to the singular usage and 'you' to the plural. 'You' was also used when addressing someone of superior social standing. Since Quakers claimed that everyone was equal in the sight of God, they eschewed use of the term 'you' as well as any complimentary titles that might be attached to names. Friends also refused to use the names of the days of the week or months of the year, claiming their "ancient testimony against the superstitious observance of days and times, and calling the days and months by heathen names."[23] Therefore, the days of the week and months of the year were numbered, beginning with Sunday as First Day and January as First Month. Neither were feasts and festivals observed since "the principle of Friends is for continual fasting and refraining from those things which defile the soul and make it unfit for becoming the temple of the Holy Ghost."[24]

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[21] By far, transgression of the marriage testimony accounts for the most disownments, especially in the post-1755 reformation period.. See Chapter Two for a further discussion of marriage.

[22] The third query, which followed questions about attendance at meeting for worship and the maintenance of love and unity asked, "Are Friends careful to bring up those under their direction in plainness of speech, behviour, and apparel ...." *Rules of Discipline of the Yearly Meeting of Friends, held in Philadelphia, 1806,*

In the context of frontier Upper Canada this presented some difficulty to Friends who participated in community events such as shivarees and communal barn-raisings, which often included non-Friends. At times, these events got out of hand, especially if liquor ran freely. A number of young men were chastised for attending a shivaree.[25] Festivals were also disapproved of. Nineteen-year-old John Rogers was dealt with because he had "so far disregarded good order as to join with a noisy company shooting off guns at the time called New Year...."[26] Although an adult, Rogers may have been forgiven for his transgression because of his relatively young age. But Job Webb was viewed in especially disparaging terms. Not only did he allow fiddling and dancing in his own house but at a barn raising he showed another person how to dance.[27] Webb's departure from the Discipline was viewed so negatively for a number of reasons. First, his behaviour encouraged others to transgress. Moreover, this behaviour was displayed at a barn raising which would have been attended by members of the community who were not Friends. To jeopardize the cause of Truth among non-Quakers was especially abhorrent to Friends. Finally, as a mature male, Webb was expected to act as a role model for younger Friends. There is no doubt that plainness was important in the Yonge

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Printed by Direction of the Meeting (Philadelphia: Kimber, Conrad, & Co., 1806), 90. Hereafter referred to as *Discipline of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1806.*

[23] *Discipline of the New York Yearly Meeting, 1810,* 69.

[24] *Discipline of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1806*, 28.

[25] Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 1806-1818, MS 303, Reel 27, B-2-83, 05-03-1807 (Joshua Winn); 13-07-1809 (Pearson Starr); 17-08-1809 (Nathaniel Vernon).

[26] Yonge Street Preparative Meeting of Friends, 1804-1862, MS 303, Reel 26, B-2-76, 11-05-1815.

[27] Ibid., 06-06-1833.

Street community. In the first and second generations of the community, plainness insulated Friends from mainstream society by setting them apart as noticeably different.

In addition to serving as an immediate identifier of those who followed the teachings of Friends, from the beginning of the movement plainness in dress was expected to function as a levelling influence among Quakers. Initially, plainness in dress referred only to simplicity in apparel. Quakers avoided frills, bright colours and fussy styles. Ideally, adherence to simplicity in one's manner of dress and speech were outward signs of inward grace; they were a visible representation of a changed heart that focussed on the Inner Light. In accordance with the tenets of Quakerism, this testimony was in no way to become a ritual. However, over time the humanity of the faithful began to show through. Plainness became an end in itself.[28] No longer was simplicity enough; simplicity became uniformity. With uniformity came the expectation of conformity. At times that conformity to an outward uniform took precedence over spiritual growth. Moreover, as some Friends began to amass great wealth, they found ways to signify their wealth while adhering to the letter of the Discipline. For instance, while the cut of a specific item of apparel might be considered simple or plain, the fabric chosen for the garment or bonnet could immediately identify those Friends with greater financial resources.[29] Oatmeal or grey-coloured silk could be fashioned into a simple dress; this made a much finer garment than the same dress fabricated with oatmeal or grey-coloured poplin. More than any of the other testimonies, plainness in dress and address served as a boundary between the Society of Friends and the world. It allowed for a symbolic separation from the society in which Friends lived and, as a result, stimulated their group consciousness as a peculiar people.

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[28] Counsel in the advices in 1682 had cautioned that Friends "be not found in wearing Superfluity of apparel." This had quickly become much more specific. By 1695, Friends were admonished that:
none wear long lapped Sleeves, or Coats gathered at the Sides, or superfluous Buttons, or broad Ribbons about their Hats or long curled Perukes; & that no women their children or Servants dress their Heads immodestly or wear their Garments indecently, as is too common, nor wear long Scarfs and that all be careful about making buying or wearing (as much as they can) striped or flowered Stuffs or other useless and superfluous Things. *A Collection of Christian and Brotherly Advices Given Forth from time to time by the Yearly Meeting of Friends for Pennsylvania and New Jersey held at Burlington & Philadelphia alphabetically digested under proper heads*, 211. Hereafter referred to as *Advices of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting*.

By the time that Friends arrived on Yonge Street, notions of plainness had become quite ritualized in the Discipline. However, unlike the marriage testimony, the meeting appeared to be far more flexible in carrying out the rules on plainness. There are few specific references to departures from plainness in the minutes. When it does appear, it is usually accompanied by some other offence such as attending places of diversion, drinking to excess, or neglecting meeting. General concerns about issues of plainness were primarily directed toward the youth of each generation whose apparel and speech patterns seemed to be a source of concern for parents regardless of the period! In fact, the women of the Pelham Monthly Meeting were so concerned at one point about "the deviation of the youth in both dress and address" that a committee of six women was appointed to visit the youth of the meeting to discuss their concern.[30] The generation gap that surrounded the testimony on plainness may account for the flexibility in its implementation. Friends could bemoan the passing of plainness in dress and address; yet, they remained powerless to stop it. As Friends moved further and further into mainstream society, their apparel became less important as a signature of their membership in the Society of Friends.[31] By the 1840s among the Orthodox especially, it became increasingly difficult to distinguish Friends from non-Friends on the basis of their clothing and manner of speech.

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[29] The issue of fabrics also arose in the late eighteenth century among Friends who were staunch supporters of anti-slavery. These individuals refused to use any cotton fabrics, since the labour that produced cotton was enslaved. At the same time they derided their fellow Quakers for their consumption of the products of slave labour.

While the testimony on plainness did the most to visibly separate Friends from the world, the testimonies on oaths and peace were responsible for their detachment from mainstream society. Friends believed that Christ's teachings to "swear not at all" made them responsible to tell the truth at all times. Oaths were considered not only unnecessary but wrong. In the early stages of Quakerism in England, followers had been thrown into jail for their refusal to swear an oath. Later, Quakers were permitted to make a solemn affirmation in place of an oath. However, since an oath was still required for service on juries or service in any public office or government position, Friends were excluded from those positions in Upper Canada.[32]

As the testimony on oaths excluded Friends from public office, the peace testimony prohibited Friends from involvement in military conflict. The peace testimony originated in the belief that the Inner Light was to guide and guard all aspects of life. Therefore, to follow the precepts of the Inner Light meant that the seeds of war within an individual were destroyed. The tenet of peace, which was to characterize dealings between Friends, was naturally extended to their dealings with those outside the Society. Friends were exhorted to "be vigilant in keeping up to the peaceable Principles professed

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[30] Pelham Monthly Meeting of Women Friends, 1810-1842, MS 303, Reel 41, C-3-52, 06-06-1816.

[31] This is seen especially in the multigenerational photo of women that comes from the Armitage file at the CYM Archives. Although all were Friends, the apparel of the women is less and less plain, with each succeeding generation.

[32] This problem presented itself early in Upper Canada. Philip Dorland, a Quaker from Adolphustown had been elected to the first Parliament of Upper Canada as the member for Adolphustown and Prince Edward. Dorland travelled the two hundred miles from Adolphustown to Niagara to serve in the first Parliament which met in September 1792. As each member prepared to take his seat, he was required to swear an oath

by us as a People," and were forbidden from uniting with those who "may be for making Warlike Preparations, offensive or defensive." Friends were also reminded to "demean themselves in a Christian & peaceable manner, thereby to demonstrate to the World, that our Practices, (when we are put to the Trial), correspond with our Principles."[33] As a result of the wars which seemed to be a constant fixture of colonial life, especially in the eighteenth century, the peace testimony was extended to include any activity that might be related to war. By 1810 it became a disownable offence "to bear arms, or actively comply with military requisitions, be concerned in warlike preparations, offensive or defensive, by sea or land, pay a fine, penalty, or tax, in lieu of personal service, deal in prize goods, directly or indirectly, or be concerned in promoting the publication of writings which tend to excite the spirit of war." [34]

Tightening of the peace testimony created significant problems for those Friends who lived on or near Yonge Street, a military artery that connected York to Lake Simcoe. During periods of military conflict Friends were faced with threats to their person and property. In cases where Yonge Street Friends found themselves directly in the centre of military activity, one might think that they would have been forgiven for defending themselves or their property. However, the minutes indicate that the meeting was rigid in its interpretation of the Discipline on this issue. Anyone with the slightest involvement in war activities was brought to task, no matter how justifiable or minor their activity was.

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of allegiance to the King. As a Quaker, Dorland refused. Since there was no provision in Upper Canada for an affirmation, Dorland was disqualified and a new election was called for his seat.

[33] *Advices of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting*, 305. This advice was entered in 1739.

[34] *Discipline of the New York Yearly Meeting, 1810*, 45.

Understanding this, some Quakers, like Nicholas Brown, presented an acknowledgement even before a complaint could be entered.[35]

While dealings in these areas of the Discipline seemed to be more straight forward, the issue of contentiousness was more difficult to identify and was treated far more subjectively. Difficult Friends were dealt with under two sections of the Discipline: Charity and Unity and Defamation and Detraction.[36] By 1810 when Yonge Street switched to the 1810 New York Discipline the issue of unity had been integrated into the section on Defamation and Detraction, which stated:

> When any are guilty of tattling, tale-bearing, reproaching, back-biting, or speaking evil of others, or busily meddling with their affairs, when not concerned, tending to excite strife and discord, or cause disesteem amongst brethren or neighbours, they are to be suitably treated with, and if they do not make satisfactions therefor, they should be disowned.[37]

The subjective nature of the cases relating to infractions of this testimony give us a window through which we can glimpse the meeting hierarchies and politics that had evolved in the Yonge Street community. What appears is a certain tension between the weighty Friends who were in positions of leadership and those who remained outside the "Select" group. [38]

The weighty Friends comprised a sort of meeting oligarchy. Although the development of these oligarchies was not an intentional aspect of the meeting apparatus, once in place they played a large role in determining the direction that individual meetings would take.[39] Belonging to the group of weighty Friends were elders, ministers, clerks and overseers, although only the ministers and elders met as part of the Select Meeting of Ministers and Elders. The meeting elders were the spiritual guardians of the meeting. They wielded the most influence in spiritual matters, having the authority to censor even ministers. It was the elders and ministers who were primarily responsible for maintaining love and unity among their flock.[40] Because the clerk was responsible for interpreting the 'sense of the meeting,' he or she was influential in directing the course of business meetings. In terms of implementing the letter of the Discipline at the community level, however, the overseers held extremely authoritative positions.

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[35] Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 1806-1818, 13-01-1814.

[36] The Discipline of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting for 1806 included both of these sections; the 1810 Discipline of the New York Yearly Meeting only included a section on Defamation and Detraction. Essentially both sections related to the second query which asked, "Are love and unity maintained as becomes brethren; if differences arise, is due care taken speedily to end them; and do Friends avoid and discourage tale-bearing and distraction?" *Discipline of the New York Yearly Meeting, 1810,* 35.

[37] Ibid., 55.

Overseers were appointed to watch over the membership and to guide them in the principles of Quakerism. The Discipline recognised that it was "the duty of every faithful member of our society to advise and admonish those who are guilty of unbecoming or disorderly conduct." Yet this was especially the work of the overseer who was "to treat with [the offender] in the spirit of meekness and restoring love, patiently endeavouring to instruct and advise them."[41] Those selected as overseers were to demonstrate sound judgement and have a great depth of religious insight and experience. The number of [illegible]seers selected was determined by the size of the meeting. The Discipline indicated [illegible]e monthly meeting appoint "two or more faithful and judicious Friends" to this

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[38] The Select group refers to those who were members of the Select Meeting of Ministers and Elders.

[39] For a more indepth discussion of the particular meeting oligarchy on Yonge Street, see Albert Schrauwers, *Awaiting the Millenium: The Children of Peace and the Village of Hope, 1812-1889* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 23-5. The fact that 'marginal' Friends were continually challenging this oligarchy helps us to understand their willingness to challenge the larger political oligarchies that developed in Upper Canada.

[40] The Queries for Ministers and Elders sets the maintenance of love and unity as one of the key roles of the select Friends.

[41] *Discipline of the New York Yearly Meeting,, 1810*, 31.

position in each preparative meeting.[42] Reflecting the basic tenet of spiritual equality, there were always both male and female overseers. The first overseers appointed at Yonge Street were Isaac Phillips, Asa Rogers, Sarah Rogers and Edith Phillips. These overseers had been carefully selected by members of the Pelham Monthly Meeting. Their appointments allowed for an equal representation among the men and women from the Vermont and Pennsylvannia settlers. Isaac and Edith Phillips were husband and wife and among the first of the Pennsylvanians in the area. Asa Rogers was Timothy Rogers's son-in-law and Sarah Rogers was Timothy's wife. Interestingly, Timothy Rogers was never appointed as an overseer.

Complaints against individuals could be brought to the overseers by members of the Quaker community or non-Friends. The overseers then determined whether there were grounds for the complaint to be entered into the minutes of the preparative meeting. The complaint could not be sent to the monthly meeting without first going through the preparative. Given their authority and influence in exercising the Discipline, overseers could wield a fair degree of influence in the daily functioning of a Quaker community, especially when it came time to qualify contentiousness.

From the minutes it is impossible to discern whether certain individuals or families were viewed as naturally difficult and were, therefore, more prone to be charged with creating disunity. To be fair to the overseers and weighty Friends, it is possible that certain individuals were more obstreperous. However, it is intriguing that those who were viewed as troublesome and contentious seemed to share family connections. Consider the James family. Kezia James was not the only James woman who was chastised for her troublesome nature. Ann James, Kezia James's daughter, was also known for her fiery spirit. In 1805 it was reported to the Pelham Monthly Meeting that Ann James had "got into a turbulent disposition rejecting all counsel and advice of her Friends and [had] been guilty of tatling and wilfully saying things that appears to be false."[43] Although she was not disowned for this offence, a number of years later she entered the minutes again as a result of some unusual "communications" with which she disturbed meetings. These were communications that the women felt did "not proceed from the right authority." Even though women Friends had apparently repeatedly offered Ann James counsel and advice about the content of her communications, she had obviously not accepted their admonitions.[44] In the world of Quakerism, Ann James would have viewed her communications as part of her burgeoning ministry—an expression of what she felt the Inner Light was leading her to share with Friends. In the wake of the David Willson scandal only a year or two earlier, the women were obviously exerting even more care over those who spoke publicly in meeting. However, the debate about Ann James's 'ministry' was not confined to the meetings for worship and business.

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[42] Ibid..

Amy Hughes, the daughter of Eleanor and Job Hughes, wrote a rather caustic letter to Ann James criticising her behaviour.[45] Hughes then married Stephen Bowerman, a Friend from Adolphustown, and moved with him to the verge of the Adolphustown

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[43] Pelham Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1799-1806, MS 303, Reel 40, C-3-44, 07-08-1805.

[44] Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 1806-1818, 18-08-1814.

[45] It is entirely possible that Ann James had criticized Hughes's mother Eleanor Hughes or her sister Rachel Lundy. After a nasty schism, Eleanor Hughes had left Friends to join Willson. Rachel Lundy, who also separated from Friends, had been accused of having an affair with David Willson. It can safely be stated that Ann James's circle of close personal friends were theologically opposed to Willson and those who followed him. An examination of James's wedding certificate from 1816 lists families who later fell firmly into the Orthodox camp. In addition to James's immediate family, present at the wedding were the Linvills, Winns, Rogerses, and William and Esther Doan. Therefore, conflict between groups within the community was obviously brewing long before the formal schism occurred in 1828. Of course, in 1814 Yonge Street Monthly Meeting was still reeling from the effects of the Davidite schism.

Monthly Meeting. In response to the letter, Ann James quickly launched her own complaint against Amy Bowerman for writing a letter, the tone of which was detractory. This required the involvement of the Adolphustown meeting, to which Bowerman had moved. It also seemed to take the spotlight off James. But it created problems for Bowerman because Yonge Street Monthly Meeting refused to forward a certificate on her behalf until the matter was settled. Without a certificate Bowerman held no membership in the meeting in which she lived. As the daughter and wife of active Friends, Bowerman's inability to be formally involved in her new meeting would, no doubt, have been a source of aggravation to her. Both parties stood their ground. With distance complicating issues, the discussion carried on for a period of two years. The Adolphustown meeting finally requested that a certificate for Bowerman be forwarded. The Adolphustown women explained that even though they disagreed with the tone of the letter that Bowerman had sent to James, they felt the precautions that Bowerman had taken prior to forwarding her letter would have a great deal of weight in a superior meeting.[46] The minutes do not state what those precautions were. However, it is obvious that the subject of appeal had arisen. Perhaps Bowerman finally forced the issue by reminding the Adolphustown committee that any attempt to disown her would easily be over turned at superior meeting. Maybe those on the committee came to the conclusion themselves. The origin of the 'threat' to appeal is not as important as the centrality that the idea of appeal itself made in the final decision of the committee. Yonge Street forwarded a certificate and the issue was dropped with neither woman being disowned or acknowledging their transgression for causing disunity.

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[46] Yonge Street Monthly Meeting of Women Friends, 1806-1817, 16-02-1815.

The case of Ann James and Amy Bowerman shows us two women who were well versed in the Discipline and in meeting politics. The references to appeal demonstrate that both women were familiar with the Discipline and that they confidently acted within its parameters to shape their community. Neither hesitated in using the avenues available to them to support their beliefs and actions. Nor did they wilt under pressure from weighty Friends. Unlike Bowerman, Ann James did not come from a weighty family. Her insistence on pressing for her rights in the face of a detraction from a well-connected Friend demonstrates the strength of her will. She showed the same strength of will in her choice of a marriage partner.

Ann James married quite late for a woman Friend. In the spring of 1816, at the age of forty-one, Ann James married John Lampton Hodgson, another member of the Adolphustown meeting. Hodgson himself had a colourful past with Friends. In June of 1800 he had requested membership, on the basis of convincement, among Friends at Adolphustown. Not long afterward he was recommended as an overseer in the Kingston Preparative Meeting. He was not in this position long. Sometime prior to 1802 he removed to Coeyman's Monthly Meeting in New York State. There he left Friends to join the Shakers. Word travelled back to Friends in Adolphustown and they requested the assistance of the Coeyman Monthly Meeting in treating with him. Nineteen months later, the minutes finally show that Hodgson had been disowned, since he did not appear disposed to return to Friends. Obviously Hodgson was given to changes of heart, for a year later he acknowledged the error of his ways in the Coeyman Monthly Meeting. News of his acknowledgement and a request for a certificate on his behalf reached Adolphustown in May 1805. Sometime later he returned to Upper Canada and became active in the Adolphustown Monthly Meeting; by 1812 he was again appointed as an overseer.[47] Hodgson would have been an overseer at the same time that Bowerman and James were involved in their dispute and could have met James as a result of dealings between the meetings. After their marriage, James and Bowerman were once again in the same meeting, attending worship and business meetings at the same meeting house. How they got along in the Adolphustown meeting is unknown. Their earlier experiences and the strength of will demonstrated by both women certainly would have provided for some colourful meetings.

In the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, the Jameses continued to be active. Ann James's brother Ezekiel James Jr. had established his family in Uxbridge where they worked to shape their community. They built and opened a school on his land in 1817, the same year that the Uxbridge Preparative Meeting was established under the authority of the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting. Both the school and the Uxbridge meeting house were built in close proximity to each other. The James School, built at the expense of Ezekiel James, was non-sectarian and was, therefore, open to the children of non-Friends as well as Friends in the Uxbridge area. James's continued commitment to the principles of education for children in the community was, no doubt, an extension of his family's faith. Friends were well known for establishing schools soon after they settled in areas.[48] However, there was a healthy dose of practicality laced with Ezekiel James's comittment to education. By 1817 he and Ruth Lundy had been married ten years. They had five children, the oldest of which was nine. Although Ruth James would have been spending time teaching the children to read and write at home and they would have been learning in meeting, James and his wife were no doubt concerned for their children's formal education. Unless they were to board away from home, Yonge Street was too far away to send young children. Possibly, Ezekiel and Ruth James came to the conclusion that the only way they were going to get a formal school near home was to build it themselves.

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[47] Adolphustown Monthly Meeting, 1798-1813, MS 303, Reel 14, B-2-1, 26-06-1800, 15-04-1802, 17-11-1803, 16-05-1805, and 19-03-1812.

[48] For instance, the school on Yonge Street originally opened in 1806, about the same time that the monthly meeting was established.

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In addition to the formal business of the women's meeting, women became involved informally in matters that related to the community. Often this activity never entered the minutes. Women were eager participants in cases, working alongside men, influencing overseers in determining the merit of complaints to be taken before the preparative meeting. The case in which this stands out most clearly is that of Philip Phillips and William Lundy's bull.

Philip Phillips was the brother of Isaac Phillips who, along with Samuel Lundy in 1800, had secured land patents for Pennsylvania Friends on the east side of Yonge Street in East Gwillimbury and Whitchurch townships. Obviously Philip Phillips shared few of his brother's sterling religious qualities.[49] Early in the meeting minutes, Phillips acknowledged "partaking of spiritous liquor at a public gathering."[50] A few years later Phillips appears again in the minutes charged with being:

> so unguarded that instead of prudently labouring for the support of good will and harmony he has made use of some expressions casting aspersions on some of his neighbours which has been the cause of a considerable increase of discord between him and them.[51]

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[49] Isaac was very active in the Yonge Street meeting and, in addition to serving on numerous committees, was one of the first overseers of the Yonge Street Preparative Meeting. He was also appointed an elder in the Monthly Meeting.

[50] Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 1806-1818, 12-11-1807.

Phillips was hastily disowned, although he later claimed he did not receive a copy of the testimony against him. The story would end there if it were left for the minutes alone to tell. However, in an unsorted collection of small pieces of paper which were read in the meeting, but not recorded in the minutes, small bits of the rest of the story were told.

Philip Phillips and William Lundy were neighbours. Lundy lived on lot 94 in the fourth concession of Whitchurch; Phillips lived just north on lot 96 in the fourth concession of East Gwillimbury. Sometime in 1811 William Lundy's bull died. According to Lundy, the bull had been murdered and Philip Phillips was criminally charged with the act. A criminal charge was outside the purview of the meeting and so it does not appear in the minutes. However, Phillips claimed he had not killed the bull and some years later attempted to bring a complaint of defamation and detraction against William Lundy. Phillips gave the complaint "into the hands of the overseers hoping that a true inquiry [would] take place that the just cause may be known."[52]

The overseers at the time, Henry Widdifield and Henry Bonnel ignored Phillips's complaint against Lundy. This threw the whole neighbourhood into a tailspin and spawned a flurry of written complaints from Phillips against numerous Friends. These give us some idea of the politics of implementing the Discipline. Phillips first charged William Lundy as being "guilty of spreading an Evill Report which is he believed that Philip Philips or someone about his plase did privately and militously kill his bull." At the same time Phillips accused William Lundy's brother John Lundy of "spreading an evil report which is that Philip Phillips told him he had a pike poal or an Iron Pike in the End of a poal Provided in order to Fight or Kill William Lundy's Bull." In the same

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[51] Yonge Street Preparative Meeting of Friends, 1804-1862, 11-07-1811.

complaint Phillips was upset about the involvement of John Lundy's wife, Elizabeth, who, "as she stood at the meeting house Doar," overheard a conversation that Phillips and his wife Rachel were having about the destination of the load on their sleigh. Phillips accused Elizabeth Lundy of falsely reporting the contents of the conversation he had with his wife. At the same time Phillips reproached both Isaac Webb and Watson Playter for "by falls [sic] and deceiving means indever[ing] to subvert the overseers from taking notis of a complaint [he] had against Henry Widdifield…." Finally, he denounced Henry Widdifield who:

> in discourse with Lewis Powel told thought [sic] he could prove me a liar and he appeared as tho he was pleasd in doing it: with the idea that it would invalidate my word so that it would be of no account in a case then under notis between William Lundy and me, wherein I was criminaly charged by sd Lundy. Henry Widdifeld at that time, was one of the overseers that had the case in chargd: …And I hereby complain of the man, as molitious and intending privately to inger me: also, Guilty of Detraction against me and spreading it.[53]

Asa Rogers, the overseer to whom Phillips presented this catalogue of complaints, refused to bring them before the meeting, and returned them to Phillips.[54]

In the meantime, the neighbours began taking sides; some even went so far as to send in their own written declarations, certifying that they "heard John Lundy say that he had heard Philip Phillips say that he had some clubs and a pike pole or a stick with an iron in it to fight Wm Londys bull."[55] William Lundy's wife, Agness, also got involved causing Phillips to launch a complaint against her. The overseers still refused to take the complaints to the Preparative Meeting and, in a last desperate measure, Phillips brought

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[52] Miscellaneous papers relating to Yonge Street, 1807-1876, MS 303, Reel 54. The complaint is dated 22-10-1816.
[53] Ibid., no date.
[54] On the outside of the letter is written "Asa Rogers overseer returnd to Philip Phillips."
[55] Joseph Pearson and George Vernon sent in similar declarations. Both were dated 03-04-1817.

them forward to the monthly meeting himself. In June of 1817, Phillips presented a written complaint against the Whitchurch Preparative Meeting for their refusal to bring forward complaints he had given to the overseers against Agness Lundy, William Lundy and John Lundy. Phillips noted that "in justis [sic] to myself, and friends also to releiv [sic] the contrite minds" he was "under the necessity of handing [the complaint] to the meeting [himself]."[56]

At this point the Monthly Meeting must have reminded Phillips that he was no longer a member and had no place in the business meeting. Phillips requested a copy of the testimony against him, which he claimed he had never received.[57] All formal avenues exhausted, Phillips appears to have given up his search for justice and settled for disturbing business meetings, and the weighty Friends who presided over them, by his continued presence. In this he was successful in soliciting Lewis Powell's assistance. Powell was then dealt with for disregarding harmony and good order by supporting

> a person who several years ago was dealt with and disowned as an offender, and has of late, for a considerable length of time been in the practice of intruding in our meetings for discipline by keeping his seat in the time of transacting the business thereof and it evidently appears that the conduct of said Lewis Powell has had a tendency greatly to strengthen and encourage him.[58]

That summer Powell acknowledged his actions. The document he presented to the meeting appears to be a sincere acknowledgement: "If I have contended to the lessoning the harmony of the meeting or to the incouragement [sic]of Philip Philips to Disturb our meetings it was more than I intended at that time, or to hurt the tender mind in any, If I have by anything I have done I am sinceraly [sic]sorry for it, and hope I shall bee enabled to be every cautious in these respects for the futer [sic]…."[59] The acknowledgement was not accepted nor recorded in the meeting minutes. Lewis Powell was disowned. Whether he and Phillips continued to be unwelcome guests at business meetings is unknown. On this the minutes are silent. Powell did inform the meeting that he intended to appeal his disownment but because he did not appear at the Half-Years Meeting to pursue his case, it was put off to the next Half-Year's Meeting.[60] After this Powell disappears from the minutes until 1827 when he acknowledged his error and requested reinstatement in membership.[61]

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[56] Ibid., 12-06-1817.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Whitchurch Preparative Meeting of Friends, 1816-1841, MS 303, Reel 26, B-2-73, 15-04-1818.

One wonders how many other intriguing stories lie beneath the perfunctory minutes.[62] In addition to illuminating some of the more convoluted aspects of meeting politics, the case of William Lundy's bull shows us the informal power that women had in propelling decisions that technically had nothing to do with them. In a community where discipline was implemented on the basis of member complaints, gossip and innuendo were powerful mechanisms for shaping the fellowship. Elizabeth and Agness Lundy were never formally involved in launching the complaint against Phillip Phillips. However, they were actively associated with the decision that was made against him. The fact that Phillips launched formal complaints against both of the Lundy women for their informal involvement demonstrates the extent of his concern over the potential impact of their gossip. His fears were not unfounded. Whether Phillips was guilty or not, these women obviously carried more weight with the overseers than he did. His inability to have his case heard at any level rendered him powerless within the context of the Quaker community. Although the women involved in this case were not the only reason that Phillips was disowned, they certainly contributed to his disownment and demonstrate the extent to which women extended their influence in the community of Friends.

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[59] Miscellaneous Papers Relating to Yonge Street, 13-08-1818.
[60] Ibid., Extracts from the Canada Half-Years Meeting held at West Lake, 03-04-1819.
[61] Yonge Street Preparative Meeting of Friends, 1804-1862, 09-08-1827.
[62] For instance, in 1826 Timothy Rogers's son, Stephen Rogers, was charged with being "guilty of tarring and carrying a woman on a rail." His accomplices, James and Isaac Eves were likewise charged. Yet, there is no context or further explanation given for this act. Nor are we told the name of the woman upon whom this act was perpetrated. She must have been a Friend since Rogers would most certainly have been charged with wounding the reputation of the Society if she had not been. All we know is that the Eves brothers were continued as members but Rogers was disowned, even though he offered an acknowledgement. The committee in his case was "of the united judgement that [he was] not in a suitable

Women in the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting were as eager as men were to embrace the issues that affected their community. Not only were women accustomed to having a voice in the way their community developed, they expected to have their views considered. The assumption that women should be active participants in the shaping of a faith community was based in a faith that granted spiritual equality to women and men. It developed through an intricate process of daily community discipline and was exercised in meetings for worship and business. Many of the specifics of that process are lost to us because of the way that meetings were recorded and the politics that developed within the community. Nevertheless, even the glimpses of turbulent and contentious Friends provided to us from the minutes show us that women Friends came to accept and expect that they would be involved in shaping their world. As Quakers, they felt it was their responsibility to serve as both guardians and sustainers of their faith community. To fulfil their duties, Quaker women used a number of tools of informal education and socialisation to encourage each other and to transmit their faith from one generation to

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state of mind to make this meeting satisfaction, his outward conduct not corresponding with this paper of condemnation." Yonge Street Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1818-1828, Reel 27, B-2-84, 13-07-1826.

the next. The strength of purpose with which Quaker women approached these responsibilities was, at times, incredibly unifying.

When the application of the Discipline was directed towards issues of spiritual purity and doctrinal uniformity, women's strength of purpose could be incredibly divisive. This happened for the first time on Yonge Street in 1812 when David Willson voiced some unusual beliefs in the community. Willson and his followers, who included a number of prominent women, contended that they were simply trying to reform the Society of Friends. The majority of Friends on Yonge Street would have none of it. The challenge to the unity of the meeting presented by Willson and his followers was powerful enough that it was branded heretical and a number of weighty Friends, men and women alike, were disowned. This schism would end the first generation of the Quaker community on Yonge Street. It would show that while women readily used the Discipline to create, govern, and sustain community, they were equally prepared to employ it to maintain their vision of a faith community—even if that meant breaking the community apart.

Chapter Five
Women and the Separation of the Children of Peace

Tucked away in the quiet village of Sharon, Ontario sits one of North America's finest wooden structures, The Temple of the Children of Peace.[1] Although the Children of Peace, the breakaway sect of Quakers who built the temple, have long since ceased exist, the Temple remains as a testimony to a religious and community schism that left its fingerprint on the social fabric of Upper Canada. Built between 1825 and 1832, the Temple has been refurbished and stands as the centrepiece of the national historic site, "The Temple of the Children of Peace at Sharon."[2] The schism, which created the Children of Peace, marks the beginning of the doctrinal disputes among Upper Canadian Quakers that eventually tore the community apart in the late 1820s and encouraged Quakers to seek affinity with those outside their religious community who shared similar social concerns. Even though the Children of Peace separated from the Society of Friends and held doctrinal beliefs that, at the time, caused them to be disowned, they were a Quaker sect. Any examination of the schism that caused their separation from the Society should be considered in this light. The large majority of the group, with the exception of David Willson and the McLeods, were birthright Quakers. Those influential within the sect tried to appeal their disownment and remain within the Society of Friends. Moreover, David Willson's desire, when he began in ministry, was not to form a new sect; it was to reform the Society of Friends.

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[1] Ebenezer Doan, the Master Builder of the Temple, directed construction of the Temple based on biblically-inspired models of Solomon's Temple as well as David Willson's visions. The Temple is rife with symbolism. It was built in six years and left vacant one year while John Doan carefully crafted the ark, or altar, which sits in the centre of the building. The four equal sides of the Temple indicate the equality of all who enter. The three storeys represent the Trinity and the curved stair is Jacob's ladder which led the musicians to the gallery above. The four central pillars, bearing the names Faith, Hope, Love, and Charity, are surrounded by twelve pillars which bear the names of the apostles. Outside, suspended between the top four lanterns, is a golden globe inscribed with the single word, "peace." The most in-depth examination of the symbolism of the Temple can be found in W. John McIntyre, *The Children of Peace* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994). Significant about the ark was that it was constructed with a hidden time capsule, in which David Willson stored over twelve hundred pages, the majority of which contain his manuscript history of the early years of the Children of Peace. The discovery of this secret compartment and the papers it contained in May 1990 has greatly enhanced our understanding of the separation which led to the creation of this sect.

[2] This site also includes David Willson's study which mirrors the Temple in its architectural style. The Ebenezer Doan house and round outhouse have been moved on site from their original location nearby.

This separation of the Children of Peace was an internal schism; it was dominated by personalities and the kin connections of its leaders. In this way it was similar to other localised schisms led by charismatic leaders that occurred throughout the history of the Society of Friends.[3] Based as it was in doctrinal differences, it foreshadowed the larger, more damaging Hicksite-Orthodox schism that occurred in the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting in 1828.[4] The eventual result of the fragmentation of the Society of Friends was the integration of a large part of the second-generation Quaker community into mainstream Upper Canadian society. However, in the first generation of the Quaker community on Yonge Street, prior to 1814, social and political circumstances were such that Friends were able to remain relatively isolated and focus their energies towards their own community. During this period, the integrity of the community was tested. Two epidemics which claimed large number of Friends, the War of 1812 and the movement of troops through the heart of the settlement, and a doctrinal altercation that drew in a

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Another museum structure houses an interpretative centre which details the sect's unique music, artistic, and political contributions to Canada.

[3] Because there is no written doctrine or creed, the Society of Friends has been prone to schisms and separations since its inception. One can point to a number of off-shoots of Quakerism, born out of charismatic leaders who shaped doctrine and worship in a specific manner. James Nayler in England; Mother Ann Lee who led the Shakers; Jemima Wilkinson, the Public Universal Friend; and, Hannah Barnard and her New Lights are all examples of leaders who broke away from Quakerism with their own group of followers when the central meetings were unprepared to accept their particular teachings or their leadership.

[4] The Orthodox-Hicksite separation that occurred in the Yonge Street meeting in 1828 was an extension of the split that occurred at the New York Yearly Meeting earlier that same year. As part of a more widespread schism in the Society, the Hicksite-Orthodox separation was extremely damaging to the Quaker faith community. It literally tore the Society in two, with each group claiming to be the true body of the

number of weighty Friends had the potential to damage this young Quaker community. But the soundness of the community, reinforced by ties of kinship, informal education, and the obligation of Friends to defend the faith, even if it meant taking on the weightiest of Friends, allowed this community to retain both its integrity and its peculiarity. As painful as this separation was, the Society of Friends on Yonge Street emerged from the first generation as an insulated and separated community of Quakers who lived in Upper Canada.

As active participants in shaping their community, women played a leading role in the separation of the Children of Peace.[5] In the same way that they applied themselves to the establishment of a strong and integral faith community, they were equally active in its fragmentation. As their communities experienced dissension and strife, women acted on and responded to those factors that threatened the way they interpreted their world and the community in which they lived. When issues of doctrine arose that endangered their fellowship and worldview, women were quick to enter the fray to defend their beliefs. They took the lead in the debates that cut to the heart of the community and were influential in directing the development of the post-schism groups that emerged from the separation. Furthermore, as women stepped into the religious turmoil of the schism, they

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Society of Friends, upholding the ancient principles of Quakerism. The background and the outcome of that separation are discussed in greater detail in Chapter Eight.

[5] The integral role that women played among Quakers is woven throughout the history of Friends. For works that deal specifically with women, see, for example Hugh Barbour, "Quaker Prophetesses and Mothers in Israel," in J. William Frost and John M. Moore eds., *Seeking the Light: Essays in Quaker History* (Wallingford and Haverford: Pendle Hill Publications, 1986), 41-60; Nancy Hewitt, "Women's Rights and Roles," in Hugh Barbour et.al. eds., *Quaker Crosscurrents*, 165-182; Christine Levenduski, *Peculiar Power: A Quaker Woman Preacher in Eighteenth-Century America* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996); Lucille Salitan and Eve Lewis Perera, eds., *Virtuous Lives: Four Quaker Sisters Remember Family Life, Abolitionism and Women's Suffrage* (New York: Continuum, 1994); Peggy Brase Seigel, "Moral Champions and Public Pathfinders: Antebellum Quaker Women in Eastcentral Indiana," *Quaker History* 81, 2(Fall 1992): 87-106; and, Carol D. Spencer, "Evangelism, Feminism and Social Reform: The Quaker Woman Minister and the Holiness Revival," *Quaker History* 80, 1(Spring 1991): 24-48.

established models for female leadership in their faith community that reinforced the precept of spiritual equality on which Quakerism was based.

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As it was a division based on internal tensions and disputes, the separation of the Children of Peace also provides an interesting opportunity to observe the impact that strong personalities and opinions could have in a Quaker meeting. One of the strongest personalities to arise in the first-generation community was David Willson. Willson was born in 1778 into a Presbyterian family that had immigrated from Ireland to the colony of New York where they settled in the Nine Partners' Tract, an area of extensive Quaker settlement. David Willson and his brother Hugh both married Quaker sisters, Phebe and Mary Titus. The Titus sisters were daughters of a Quaker minister; both were summarily disowned as a result of their marriages. The Willson brothers had been involved in the shipping business for some time, operating and trading between New York and the West Indies. In 1801 Hugh gave up the shipping business and moved to the Kingston area where he settled as a teacher. Soon after David Willson and his family, which by this time included two small sons, decided to move to Upper Canada. Apparently, during the crossing of Lake Ontario, the boat on which the family was sailing was shipwrecked and Willson managed an heroic rescue of his wife and sons.[6] The family then trudged north from York, with nothing but the clothing on their back. They were taken in by Friends and soon Willson had acquired a farm near the Rogers settlement.[7] In 1803 Willson requested membership for himself and now three sons in the Society of Friends on the basis of "convincement." Whether the committee appointed to visit him to determine the sincerity of his request had some initial doubts or whether it was just distance that delayed the proceedings, it was a year-and-a-half before Willson was accepted into membership with his children which by this time also included a daughter.[8] Phebe Willson acknowledged the error of her ways and was readmitted into membership. David Willson quickly became extremely active in the meeting, serving on numerous committees, acting as librarian, overseer, and keeper of the records.

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[6] Much has been made of this heroic rescue, especially in the interpretation of one of the banners, depicting a woman carrying two small boys, that hangs in the Temple. See W. John McIntyre, *The Children of Peace*. The story of the rescue does add a certain Moses-like quality to Willson, who did see himself in this light. In one of his visions he recorded, "the word of the Lord came unto me saying, Thou shalt be like Moses and lead my people from the wilderness (or help them out of darkness)." *The Ark Papers, volume 1: The Separation of the Children of Peace* (Sharon Temple Study Series, No. 8), 6.

Willson arrived in the Yonge Street community when the meeting was young, but confidence was at an all-time high. In 1806 Yonge Street gained monthly meeting status.[9] The same year, Friends sent a missive to Lieutenant-Governor Gore, which they felt established them in a positive relationship with the colonial authorities. The following year, in 1807, Yonge Street Friends initiated proceedings to unify all the monthly meetings in Upper Canada.[10] In 1808 it was decided to construct a proper meetinghouse on Yonge Street. This was the first church building constructed north of York.[11] With the initial work of establishing a community well underway, Yonge Street

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[7] Willson took up Lot 10, Concession 2 in the township of East Gwillimbury. Willson's sisters Mary Willson Dunham and Anna Willson and his cousins William and Mary Willson Reid soon settled nearby. In 1810 Hugh and his family left Wolfe Island and leased the lot opposite David's on concession 3. Albert Schrauwers, *Awaiting the Millennium*, 27-8.

[8] David Willson presented his request for membership to the Pelham Monthly Meeting, under whose care the Yonge Street indulged meeting for worship came, on 07-09-1803. Willson and his four minor children: John, Israel, Hugh, and Sarah were accepted into membership on 06-02-1805, Pelham Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1799-1806, C-3-44.

[9] Within four years of becoming an established monthly meeting, Yonge Street was composed of five preparative meetings: Yonge Street Preparative Meeting, Whitchurch PM (1804), East Gwillimbury PM (1807), Uxbridge PM (1809), and Pickering PM (1810).

[10] Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 1806-1819, MS 303, Reel 27, B-2-83, 13-01-1807.

[11] The Yonge Street Meetinghouse still stands in this location on Yonge Street. It remains the oldest Quaker meetinghouse still in use in Canada.

Friends began to make their own ministerial trips to other meetings in both Upper Canada and the United States.

About this time a number of challenges occurred that began to drain the strength of the meeting. Two valued ministers died.[12] Then in 1809 the first tragic epidemic hit Yonge Street and Pickering. A number of weighty Friends died in this epidemic; some left Yonge Street to return to their meeting of origin.[13] The Yonge Street meeting lost valuable leaders in a short period of time. At the same time, the colonial government cracked down on Friends for their refusal to pay fines in lieu of military service. Of all Quakers in Upper Canada, Yonge Street Friends received the highest fines and greatest number of prison terms.[14] With all probability, their location on a major military road had a great deal to do with this.

Troubled as their lives were, Yonge Street Friends were pleased in 1809 when the three Upper Canadian monthly meetings were united under the Canada Half-Year's Meeting, a meeting vested with the power of a quarterly meeting. Having moved from the care of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting to the New York Yearly Meeting, a new Book of Discipline was required. All old books were turned in and the new Discipline was produced. For the first time copies were mass-produced through the printing process and available in the home of every member.[15] This led to a perceptible shift in increasing legalism among Friends on Yonge Street.[16] As discussed in Chapter Four, even though the Discipline was imposed from above, it was interpreted locally. When Friends on Yonge Street became more closely acquainted with the Discipline, they became more vigilant in monitoring their community for even the most minor transgressions. Judging from the increased number of violations that were addressed in business meetings after 1810, it appears that the availability of personal copies of the Discipline made Yonge Street Friends more conscious of their right and their responsibility to report the infractions of their friends and neighbours. Issues that might have gone unnoticed in a frontier community became matters of great interest.

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[12] Henry Widdifield, an important and valued minister and a weighty Friend passed away in 1805. In 1807, Job Hughes, one of the most active members and another valued minister passed away while on a ministerial trip to Fishing Creek, Pennsylvania. Hughes, along with Jacob Winn and Timothy Rogers had been largely responsible for rallying Adolphustown and Pelham Monthly Meetings in presenting the case for unification to the yearly meetings at New York and Philadelphia.

[13] For instance, Jacob Winn, a minister died in this epidemic; his wife Phebe returned to Vermont. Rufus and Lydia Rogers died as did Hannah Rogers, the wife of Wing Rogers. Wing Rogers also returned to Vermont. All of these Friends were active in the business of the meeting.

[14] Between February 1808 and October 1810, property in the amount of £ 243:11:6 ½ New York currency had been seized for military fines; eight Quakers were each imprisoned for one month on the same charge. Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 1806-1818, 18-10-1810.

This was also a time of more rigidly-defined doctrinal orthodoxy throughout the Society of Friends. The Second Great Awakening with its evangelical fervour was having an influence on Quakers. Before they felt the effects of Christian evangelicalism, Quakers had been united in avoiding reliance on outer forms of revelation in their spiritual lives. Direct understanding of God, through the inward and immediate experience of the Inner Light, was the central doctrine of Friends. Quakers needed no intermediary between themselves and God—not the church, nor priests, nor even the Bible. The Bible was still their most important book. It was just that early Quakers felt that it was not God's final word. They believed that God continued to reveal himself to man through the Inner Light. Christian evangelicalism and its insistence on the infallibility of Scripture began to challenge the doctrine of the Inner Light. In 1806 the Philadelphia and Baltimore Yearly Meetings adopted the doctrinal standards of the

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[15] Prior to the 1810 Discipline, the Book of Discipline had been produced only in sufficient numbers for a book to be placed in each preparative, monthly, quarterly, and of course, yearly meeting.

Uniform Discipline, a creed which emphasised the primacy of Scripture. This shifted the institutional focus of these two yearly meetings away from the theology of the Inner Light to that of biblical inerrancy. Although New York Yearly Meeting did not adopt the *Uniform Discipline*, it had been discussed at the yearly meeting. Through epistles and reports of the representatives who attended yearly meeting, the idea of doctrinal uniformity was a factor in relations between the yearly meeting and the subordinate monthly meetings. Friends on Yonge Street were well-versed in the debates.

It was during this period of social and political upheaval that David Willson began to feel a growing desire to enter into ministry. Struggling with doubts and personal insecurity, Willson remained silent in meeting, uncertain of the direction in which he was being led by the Inner Light. In August of 1811 he rounded up enough courage to go on his first religious visit. Willson went to see his neighbour, Rachel Lundy. In addition to being neighbours, Lundy and Willson would have known each other fairly well as they had both served on numerous committees together. Willson had carefully chosen the first person to whom he would reveal his visions. He and Lundy had obviously discussed issues related to the governance of the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting for Willson tells us:

> I went into the house and sat a little time in silence. Then I stood on my feet and said unto her, beware of Giving away thy judgement in religion, for thou art in danger of splitting on the rock where thousands do (give away that which is experimental for that which is instrumental) And so give away thy own judgement, and run after others, instead of keeping to thy own gift. And altho thou hast not said it unto any, yet I know that God has opened thine eyes to see the filth, the dirt and the naughtiness that is in the church, and it is not for nothing.[17]

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[16] Jane Zavitz-Bond, "The Quakers of Yonge Street," *Canadian Quaker History Journal* (Fall 1996): 29.
[17] *The Ark Papers, volume 1: The Separation of the Children of Peace*, 8.

After prophesying that Lundy would be "a scourge unto them," he "took her by the hand and said unto her I have loved thee (her soul) and if thou will unite with me in travel of spirit and keep my commands thou shall live and dwell with me forever."[18] The following month, Willson once again visited Lundy and warned her that "a new and glorious Dispensation was about to break forth in the world and that it would be more bright than any had been since the days of Jesus Christ."[19]

Rachel Lundy did not chase Willson away, accusing him of lunacy, but offered him tentative support. This would result in the strengthening of Willson's resolve. In September 1811, Willson stood for the first time in the meeting for worship resolving that he "should remain no more a stranger to the people whom I was amongst (stranger in spirit)." He then proclaimed:

> That Jesus Christ was no God (As some believe him to be (because God is a spirit, not flesh)) But a man endued with divine power. That as the Old Testament had passed away from the people so also had the new testament passed from me (or that I saw the end of the use thereof) and also all religious books. That as the moon and stars only give light by night and receive their light from the sun the fountain of light, so doth all books and instruments borrow their light of God and are only useful to those who are weak in faith and remain in a measure of the apostate night. I also said that there was a day at the first, when there was no Scripture, no prophet, no Mediator between God and Man (before the fall in us all) and that the church must travel to that state again, from which she fell. I declared myself to be one and alone in this testimony and said that the time would come when I should have to take my staff in my hand and leave my children as fatherless and my wife as a widow and seek a people that will serve the living God (or depend altogether on the instructions of his spirit) for there is a people ready to receive these things.[20]

Given the religious environment among Friends at the time, Willson's message smacked of heresy. In 1805 the London Yearly Meeting had published Henry Tuke's *Principles of*

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[18] Ibid., 9.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid., 9. Brackets are as they appear in the original.

Religion.[21] This was the first formal, published integration of evangelical doctrines into Quakerism and was a response to the rise of orthodoxy in the English meetings. Evangelical doctrines had certainly been a factor in the London Yearly Meeting by the end of the eighteenth century. When Hannah Barnard, an American Friend from the New York Yearly Meeting, had been on an extended ministerial visit in England and Ireland from 1798 to 1800, the Select Meeting of Ministers and Elders in the London Yearly Meeting had ordered her to abstain from further preaching and to return to the United States.[22] The decision of the select meeting had been based on a charge against Barnard that she had denied the authority of Scripture. When the London Yearly Meeting sent copies of the censuring minute to Barnard's own meeting in Hudson, New York the dispute on the heresy of Hannah Barnard crossed the Atlantic and became full-blown in the New York Yearly Meeting.[23] According to his memoirs, Willson's message created a similar confusion. Even his own followers remembered that "his expressions seemed somewhat wild and strange amongst us all…."[24]

The monthly meeting minutes, dependent as they were on consensus, tell us very little about the furore that tore through the community at this time. There were other problems that plagued the Society during these months. First the outbreak of the War of 1812[25] and then in 1812-1813 another epidemic swept through the Quaker community.

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[21] Henry Tuke, *The Principles of Religion, as professed by the Society of Christians usually called Quakers: written for the instruction of their youth, and for the information of strangers* (1805 rpt.; New York: New York Yearly Meeting of Friends, 1837).

[22] David Maxey, "New Light on Hannah Barnard, A Quaker 'Heretic'," *Quaker History* 78, 2(1989): 65.

[23] For more on the heresy of Hannah Barnard, see Maxey, "New Light on Hannah Barnard," 61-86.

[24] Ibid., 1.

[25] Although they remained neutral in the conflict, the Quakers could hardly remain aloof, situated as they were on the major north-south military artery in Upper Canada. The movement of troops and artillery through the heart of the settlement was a test of Friends' pacifism. Their horses, so important for farming and carrying out visitation in the meeting were impressed to haul military stores. As a testament to their separation from the larger society, there was remarkably little involvement of the Quakers in the war.

Disease ravaged the settlement, killing as many or more Friends than the 1809 epidemic. A number of weighty Friends were taken in this epidemic, among them Nathaniel Pearson and an important elder, Isaac Wiggins, who both strongly opposed Willson. The addition of religious tension during this time of upheaval created a situation where the Yonge Street meeting was a community in crisis.

Willson's denial of the divinity of Christ and the value of the Scriptures was a contentious assertion that stood to tear the Quaker belief system and the community apart. Anthropologist Albert Schrauwers, who has examined this schism in detail, argues that class was at the centre of the schism and that the "nominal cause of the separation of the Children of Peace was a doctrinal dispute."[26] By the end of the eighteenth century, Quakers in urban centres had become quite prosperous. This was due in large part to their scrupulous business practices, which were dictated by the Discipline. These wealthy Friends had come to dominate the superior meetings of the Society. Their interaction with those from the 'outside' world and their desire to lessen their differences with their Christian neighbours and business people with whom they came into daily contact resulted in their absorbing the prevalent evangelical tenets of the day. The evangelical group of Friends at the yearly meetings began to place more emphasis on issues of doctrine such as the inerrancy of the Bible and the necessity of accepting Jesus Christ as the atonement for personal sin. They also saw themselves as having more in common with other evangelicals of wealth than with their poorer rural brethren. This put the urban evangelical Quakers into direct conflict with rural traditional Friends who continued to emphasise the theology of the Inner Light. Quakers could not separate themselves from the larger social and ideological debates that were occurring in the United States.

Schrauwers argues that "the ideological dispute between these evangelicals and the rural reformers was thus the initial forum within which class conflict occurred within Quakerism."[27] By the time of the schism in 1812, Schrauwers contends that the central issues of this doctrinal dispute had become well-developed in the minds of Yonge Street Quakers. "Traditional subsistence-oriented Quaker farmers embedded in non-capitalist social relations of production came to see their egalitarian resistance to the state undermined by wealthy, capitalist Friends who embraced orthodoxy."[28]

Yet, if this were the case, it is certainly not expressed in the recorded debates. Moreover, it must be remembered that in 1811-1812, the northern reaches of Yonge Street were still very much a frontier settlement. This was hardly a bustling centre of capitalism being overseen by a wealthy urban bourgeoisie.[29] The information we have on the schism from the perspective of the women involved demonstrates that doctrine and worldview were front and centre in this divisive event. Women were familiar with the doctrinal disputes that had been expressed in other Quaker meetings south of the border and had resulted in the disownment of Hannah Barnard and her New Lights.[30]

The awareness of doctrinal issues meant that Willson's message in meeting for worship sparked an immediate controversy. He reported that his "testimony met with

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[26] Schrauwers, *Awaiting the Millennium*, 35.

[27] Ibid., 40.

[28] Ibid., 40-1.

[29] For an innovative examination of the economic history of Upper Canada , see Douglas McCalla, *Planting the Province: The Economic History of Upper Canada, 1784-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993). McCalla notes that it was not until 1822 that there was a shift to a commercial economy which caused Upper Canada to experience extensive growth.

[30] Another woman disowned by Friends for her unusual beliefs was Jemima Wilkinson. In 1776 she suffered an illness which placed her in a coma. Many thought she was dead. When she recovered, Wilkinson claimed that she had been dead and had been resurrected, in the same way that Christ had raised Lazarus from the dead. This experience caused her to reinvent herself as "the Publick Universal Friend." Herbert A. Wisbey, *Pioneer Prophetess: Jemima Wilkinson, the Publick Universal Friend* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1964).

considerable opposition or obstruction in spirit, the people being clothed with unbelief."[31] Mary Pearson, the clerk of the Women's meeting was the first person to contest Willson's challenge to the infallibility of Scripture. She and John Dunham, an overseer of the men's meeting, visited Willson. Mary Pearson promptly asked Willson's wife, Phebe, "if she had discovered anything of her husbands being out of his right mind."[32] With this Mary Pearson established herself as David Willson's biggest opponent. She rose in meeting herself and declared:

> That she had been much burdened in mind for several months with the pernicious doctrine that was preached in this place and warn't [sic] the people to beware how they received such doctrine for it was contrary to our profession: And that one of our members by the name of Hannah Barnard was taken up and dealt with and finally disown'd for preaching the same doctrine. Therefore they should beware how they received it.[33]

The confusion that arose was immense. According to Willson, his detractors, "Roard like Bulls and...Barked like Dogs," whipping not just the Society into a furore but "many of their neighbors that did not belong to it."[34] Isaac Wiggins, a weighty elder, noted that "he had never met with such a subject in all his life, nor one that had such a tendency to divide and separate Friends from one another...."[35]

The debate swirled for some months before a formal complaint was placed before the meeting. Interestingly, although David Willson was the first to give voice to his beliefs he was never formally accused via a complaint in meeting. The first person accused of denying the divinity of Christ was William Reid, another member of the

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[31] *The Ark Papers, volume 1*, 9.
[32] Ibid., 10.
[33] Ibid., 13.
[34] Ibid., 11.
[35] Ibid., 14.

Queen Street Preparative Meeting and Willson's cousin.[36] By this point the ruckus had been carrying on within the community for at least a year. Finally, in August of 1812, the minutes record that David Willson refused to "rise from his seat when a friend appeared in supplication, and a few weeks ago stood in a first day meeting and expressed his intention of separating from us." In the same meeting Israel Lundy, the husband of Rachel Lundy, prophesied that the "yearly meeting is falling, or going astray, and this monthly meeting will come to nothing, and part of the Scriptures and part of our Discipline is fallen and will never rise again."[37]

Approximately eighteen families left the Yonge Street meeting to join Willson. The first ones to leave were connected closely to him: Willson's wife, Phebe, his brother John J. Willson, his cousin William Reid, and his neighbours Israel and Rachel Lundy. Shortly afterward a number of weighty Friends from the meeting united with Willson: Amos and Martha Armitage, Eleanor Hughes, Samuel Hughes and John Doan. They were followed by their extended kin group. With the exception of Willson, this was not the separation of a group of malcontents who had been unhappy with the recognition they had received for their ministry. Three of the meeting's five elders left with Willson as did two of its former clerks. One of those clerks, Amos Armitage, was also clerk of the Canada Half Year's Meeting. Although there were extensive kin relationships among the members of the Children of Peace, the separation "cannot be reduced to the mechanical tracing of kinship ties," as Albert Schrauwers notes. [38] Kinship was one method of recruiting new members. However, kinship was not the sole basis for a certain belief structure. If this were the case entire families would have been on one side or the other of the issue instead of being split as they were in many cases.

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[36] Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 1806-1818, Reel 27, 18-06-1812.
[37] Ibid., 13-08-1812.
[38] Schrauwers, *Awaiting the Millennium*, 44.

This schism was based in doctrinal differences which were magnified by internal personality conflicts.[39] An examination of the women involved in the separation of the Children of Peace allows for a glimpse of the strength of women's position within the Quaker faith and especially within this particular frontier community. This is illustrated first in Willson's choice of Rachel Lundy as a confidante with whom he shared his spiritual musings. We do not know whether Willson shared his ideas of religious reform with his wife before going to Rachel Lundy. We do know, however, that he did not go to his brother, his cousin or any other male relative. Nor did he choose his male neighbour, Israel Lundy, but specifically selected Rachel Lundy as "the first person to whom [he] opened [his] mouth respecting the work of the day."[40] His choice of Rachel Lundy as spiritual companion corresponded to her own expressed feelings of discomfort regarding business within the meeting. Although the charismatic Willson stood at the centre of the conflict, the debate quickly polarised around women within the meeting, specifically Rachel Lundy, Eleanor Hughes and Mary Pearson.

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[39] This is especially the case if it is considered from the point of view of the women involved. Albert Schrauwers argues that class conflicts were at the base of the schism. These class conflicts were, in turn, expressed through theological differences. This is a similar argument to those commonly employed to explain the cause of the Hicksite-Orthodox schism of 1827-28 which was rooted in the impact of evangelicalism complicated by urban-rural and rich-poor differences. See, for instance, Verna Cavey, "Fighting Among Friends: The Quaker Separation of 1827 as a Study in Conflict Resolution," (PhD dissertation: Syracuse University, 1992); Robert W. Doherty, *The Hicksite Separation: A Sociological Analysis of Religious Schism in Early Nineteenth Century America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1967); David E.W.Holden, *Friends Divided: Conflict and Division in the Society of Friends* (Richmond, Indiana: Friends United Press, 1988); H. Larry Ingle, *Quakers in Conflict: The Hicksite Reformation* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1986). Alluding to the late Hicksite-Orthodox schism, Schrauwers also argues that "the egalitarianism of traditional rural American Quakerism had been eroded by the pursuit of wealth, which undermined the reciprocal exchanges of their non-capitalist moral economy." Schrauwers, *Awaiting the Millennium*, 39.

[40] *The Ark Papers, volume 1*, 8.

Rachel Hughes Lundy was a fundamental stone in the building of this sect. As the daughter of Job and Eleanor Hughes, she was a birthright member of Friends and was also very active within the meeting. After separating from Friends, Willson was meeting with a small group in his home. He was very discouraged and decided he was prepared to let his very small group of followers go their own way. Willson visited Rachel Lundy to let her know that he was willing to leave her as well and engage the world alone, to which Lundy replied that "she did not know how to part with [him]." Willson responded that "if God put us together we should be no more put apart, and that she should sit down on my right hand and let all others come and go as they would." Later that morning, according to Willson, Rachel Lundy "took her young child in her arms and travel on foot to my dwelling house and asked me if I was going to meeting as usual today. I told her I was, and if she had come to be with me, we would go up to our little meeting and sit down together as usual."[41] Lundy's decision to support Willson was a turning point in the sect. Had she not supported him, it is likely that the Children of Peace would not have come into existence. Soon Lundy was joined by her mother, Eleanor Hughes, a widow of the minister Job Hughes and an elder in her own right. During battle in the business meeting, elders Isaac Phillips and Isaac Wiggins objected vehemently to David Willson's teachings. Eleanor Hughes challenged her old friends, men she had known and with whom she had worshipped for many years in Catawissa and Upper Canada. As an elder, her spiritual and social position carried as much weight as theirs did and she did not hesitate to use it.

On the other side of the battle stood Mary Pearson, the clerk of the women's meeting. After speaking out in meeting against Willson, she remained his chief critic and led the group that challenged what they considered his heretical doctrine. Mary Pearson had married Joseph Pearson, a member of the prominent Pearson family who had also come from Pennsylvania. Interestingly, a genealogical reconstruction of the community shows that Mary Pearson had been Mary Ray and had immigrated with her family from the Creek Monthly Meeting in New York. This was the meeting to which Phebe and Mary Titus had belonged prior to their disownment. There can be little doubt that Mary Ray had known David Willson while they had lived in New York and was obviously not as impressed with his charismatic personality as some of the Pennsylvania Friends were. Hannah Barnard, with whose theology Mary Pearson was familiar, was a member of the Hudson Monthly Meeting, located approximately thirty miles north of Creek Monthly Meeting where Ray and Willson attended. The furore over Barnard's teachings occurred just prior to the Ray family leaving New York and would have been utmost in her mind when David Willson began asserting similar convictions. As clerk of the women's meeting, Mary Pearson was responsible for directing the business meeting and would have overseen the hasty disownment of her friends who supported David Willson in his ministry. Two of these women were elders. One can imagine the strain that this put on the community.

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[41] *The Ark Papers, volume I*, 16.

In the midst of these tribulations and the outbreak of the second epidemic, David Willson chose to go with John Doan and Murdoc McLeod to visit his prime detractor, Mary Pearson. From his comments, it appears that Willson was trying to charm Pearson. He called at a time when she was nursing her daughter Gulielma, who had become blind sometime earlier. Willson recounted the visit:

> And as I was looking upon the blind child and was about to come away, I took Mary by the hand and told her that altho [sic] she had opposed me and been a

> nurser of the blind (or justifyer [sic] of the darkness) and God had given her the blind to nurse, that the God in whom I did trust was able to open that Child's eyes and turn her opposition into friendship and love. For I had asked God to bless her… and she should be blessed. And I told her to go her way in peace and do as she had done no more, but live in peace and die in peace and rest in peace forevermore. One Joseph Roberts being present who was my opposer also, followed me out of the house and railed on me in an angry manner for what I had said to the woman; he died in prison a short time after [being imprisoned for failing to pay a military fine]. The said Mary Pearson still persisted on against me as usual, testifying that my mind was out of order by a fit of sickness that came upon me in the year of 1810 and that I deluded the people. Her child [Gulielma] died blind in a few weeks after this visit.[42]

Within just a few months, Mary Pearson also lost her son Enoch, her father Nathaniel Ray, her father-in-law Nathaniel Pearson and her brother-in-law Benjamin Pearson. Isaac Wiggins, one of her major supporters in meeting, also passed away in this epidemic. There is no extant record as to how she felt about these deaths. It is doubtful that she agreed with David Willson's appraisal of God smiting her for standing against Willson, since that is not part of the Quaker worldview. Willson's sentiments are more reminiscent of the influence of his Presbyterian background. Regardless, she and others who remained in the meeting continued to press on in their opposition to Willson. Pearson was supported by Esther Winn Bostwick and Phebe Winn, who had returned to Upper Canada from Vermont. Both of these women went on to be appointed elders in the Yonge Street meeting. Interestingly, Esther Winn Bostwick, whose husband Nathan Bostwick died in the 1813 epidemic, married William Doan in 1814. Obviously William Doan did not agree with most of his siblings who had joined the Children of Peace. He remained an important member in the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting.[43] The Armitages, led by Martha, returned to Yonge Street meeting in 1816.[44] They left the Children of Peace as a result of accusations of adultery between David Willson and Rachel Lundy.[45] Although Lundy and Willson claimed innocence, the Armitages were unconvinced. They were soon re-appointed as elders in the monthly meeting.

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[42] *The Ark Papers, volume 1*, 31-2.

[43] Another brother, Joseph Doan, did not join the breakaway sect either. Nor did the family patriarch, Ebenezer Doan Sr., who had led the family from Catawissa to Upper Canada in 1808.

On both sides of the schism women defended their faith and their beliefs, sometimes at great personal cost. A memorial written about Eleanor Hughes by her son Samuel retells the story of the schism in verse. It also demonstrates the painful rifts between family and friends that were an extension of differences in religious convictions:

1st When storms arose my spirit fled—
2nd My feet forebore to tread the path,
3rd Where cursing fell upon my head;
4th Where Friends appear'd inflamed with wrath....

7th To you relations far abroad,
Without your friendship I did die;
8th Alone I trusted in my GOD,
And the United Peace and I.

The verses are explained by Hughes:

1st When Friends of Yonge Street ascended into rash judgements concerning religious doctrines.
2nd She could walk no more with them.
3rd Her heart or spirit love these, whom others did despise and shamefully scorn.
4th Where meek professors spoke, inflamed with zeal and anger....
7th She had relations of note in Pennsylvania, amongst Friends, by the name of Lee, who had forbore any communication with her through the latter years of her life.
8th God gave her great peace and satisfaction the latter part of her life, for which she appeared thankful, as being (in her own opinion) unworthy to live a life without sorrow.[46]

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[44] Martha Armitage acknowledged on 18-04-1816 and was re-accepted on 13-06-1816; Amos acknowledged on 07-11-1816 and was re-accepted on 12-06-1817.

[45] The accusation came from Israel Lundy, Rachel Lundy's husband. Israel Lundy was an aspiring minister himself and must have been at odds occasionally with Willson, especially since Willson and Rachel Lundy seemed to share a special relationship, from which Israel was excluded. Willson described Israel Lundy as a "general worker when at home, both day and night, save time he sleepeth, which is by far too short for the fatigue of his body, he is hasty and quick passiond, and often out of good humour." *Genealogies of the Builders of the Sharon Temple*, 32.

Because the primary identity of Quakers was based on their faith, disagreements on matters of faith were one of the most damaging influences on the community. Conflict on doctrine, though, did not destroy many of the principles that Quakers esteemed. Although they were no longer members of the Society of Friends, because they had been disowned by the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, women of the Children of Peace retained the influence of egalitarianism that was so integral to the sect. For instance, the importance of education for girls can be seen in the building of the first girls' boarding school in 1817, even before the first meetinghouse at Sharon was constructed.

Female members of the Children of Peace also became very active in the symbolic pageantry of the sect. The female ensemble, or Choir of Virgins, was a group of unmarried women taught to sing by Richard Coates, the builder of the first barrel organ in the meetinghouse and the conductor of the band. The choir was an important element in the ritual processions from the meetinghouse to the temple in the monthly service of almsgiving.[47] Twenty years later they were also an important element in similar processions down Yonge Street as they marched to Reform rallies in which David Willson and other members of the sect took an active part. The women were dressed in white to symbolise the virtue of the women in the sect as well as that of the community in general.

Obviously not everyone agreed that the women or the sect were virtuous. In 1820 Jacob Albertson, a visiting Quaker minister, cast aspersions on Willson's character, commenting that "the dissenting quakers go farther and farther from friends, this David Willson calls themselves friends of peace they have got so far as to get organs in their

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[46] "Memorial of Eleanor Hughes," MS 303, Reel 54, D-2-5.
[47] W. John McIntrye, *The Children of Peace*, 93.

meeting and I am told he has taken in 12 or more young women in his house for what purpose I don't know their parents say they have sent them there because he can bring them up better than they can[.]"[48]

Women who remained among Friends continued to be staunch defenders of the values and beliefs that had pushed them to disown their sisters. Found in Phebe Winn's papers is the following warning which "Philanthropy" had forwarded to the Buffalo printing office in 1817 when David Willson was preparing to travel to the United States:

> It is desird that the following may be inserted in all the New England news papers viz that David Willson of Upper Canada is about to travel to the New England states laden with Fabulous visions and prophecies his garb and dialect will nearly bespeak a Quaker but the publick is hereby informed that he has been disowned by that Society—it is the same man that traveld to Philadellphia [sic] two years ago in the company with another man's wife.[49]

Whether Phebe Winn was "Philanthropy" or not is uncertain. That she kept the warning among her personal papers demonstrates the depth of feeling she had on the subject. Yonge Street women became exceptionally active in ministerial visits to other meetings in this period and were also involved in the opening of schools. Women's spirituality continued to play a fundamental role in the concern of their daily lives as seen in a letter from Rebecca Cody to Esther Doan where the condition of the meeting is discussed:

> As I sat in out little fifth day meeting being blest, for a blessing it is to have my mind gathered down in a sweet stillness before the Lord of all goodness and powr [sic] and feeling a silent thanksgiving and praise to rise to his ever worthy name, whilst under these censations [sic] casting my eyes around on the little flock

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[48] Jacob Albertson to Mary Albertson, 20-10-1820. Albertson File, CYM Archives. Willson's political reform activities also drew the ire of the colonial elite. In a debate over the Marriage Bill of 1831, the Children of Peace had lobbied for their marriages to be recognised in the same way that Quaker marriages were allowed. Solicitor General Hagerman's response is a reflection of his own religious beliefs: "He had heard of a sect called the *Children of Peace* in this country—but they were the *Children of Wrath*—not the inheritors of God's work, and not entitled to the privileges of Christians. 'What! Are we going to give the right (of marrying) to every ignorant person, who having addressed a number of people…may please to call himself a preacher?' He hoped not." *Colonial Advocate*, 27 January 1831.
[49] Phebe Winn papers, Reel 54, D-2-16.

> assembled their minds seemed evidently as I thought bowed down under the Lord's goodness and powr and singular of my musings under this may seem I was brought to look over the past summer and thought I might write to E[sther] D[oan] and tell her that in looking over our past summer there had been a gradual growth in coming down before the Lord in our little assemblys which is a cause of thanksgiving if it may continue to grow.[50]

The separation of the Children of Peace was dominated by strong personalities. Events had converged in the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting to create circumstances where women factored even more prominently in the doctrinal disputes than would normally have been the case. The close-knit nature of the community, created by their intellectual isolation from the larger society and extensive kinship connections, was strengthened by women who worked side by side in ministry, especially during the two epidemics that swept through the community in 1809 and 1812-13. The tear in the social fabric caused by the schism was not painless. Based on their religious beliefs, women made decisions about doctrinal issues that had a lasting impact on their families, their community, and most of all, on themselves.

Ten years after the separation, the wounds had still not healed. Phebe Roberts commented on the relationship between Friends and the Children of Peace while on a visit to Upper Canada in 1821. As a visiting minister from Pennsylvania, Roberts was a close friend to many of the Quakers in the Yonge Street meeting, including some of those who had separated. During their stay at Yonge Street, the ministerial group met with David Willson and his followers, in an attempt to minister to them. Although Roberts "felt as if the terrors of death were in [Willson's] doctrine," and was shocked when "he gave out singing and from that he went up and played on the organ himself," she felt more positive about Willson's followers than did her fellow minister Jacob Albertson.

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[50] Rebecca Cody to Esther Doan, MS 303, Reel 54, D-2-16, 15-11-1818.

Albertson, unable to tolerate Willson's mode of worship, left the meeting. Roberts, on the other hand, believed there were "many tender hearts amongst them." She noted, with some sadness, that she and her fellow ministers "met with some of them after meeting who appeared glad to see us, tho strangers they once had been Friends and we still retained love for them. It was about ten years ago that this great trial came upon Young Street Monthly Meeting and if it had not been for a few who stood firm for the cause of Truth and its testimony, it would have fallen but they were strenthened [sic] to stand their ground."[51] Quaker women on both sides stood their ground, keeping their faith against all odds. In doing so, they pushed the boundaries of religious, social, and political culture within their sect and laid the groundwork for reforming tendencies that could be turned outward to the larger society as well.

For the Yonge Street Quaker community, this was not the last separation. The Discipline had been invoked for divisive ends in the separation of the Children of Peace. As a result, the dynamics of the community were changed and the stage was set for a series of ongoing disputes over doctrine. The Davidite schism marked the end of the first- generation community in the Yonge Street meeting. The removal of a number of influential Friends from the meetings for business and worship was a contest to the integrity of the community.

Despite the separation, the Yonge Street Quaker community was resolute and continued to be a vigourous and growing fellowship of Friends that remained insulated from Upper Canadian society. It had drawn its strength from a number of sources which acted as strategies for the development of a strong faith community. Women were fundamental in each of these areas. Ties of kith and kin were intertwined with bonds of faith and drew the families of the meeting into a tightly woven network of Friends. As Quakers put down roots in Upper Canada, their kin and faith connections entitled them to draw strength and stability from the larger transatlantic Society of Friends. From the larger Society of Friends, Yonge Street Quakers were able to draw on established mechanisms of informal education. These provided socialisation into a faith based on the tenets of equality, peace, and simplicity. The larger Society also supplied the Discipline which furnished a blueprint for community development and a set of rules to govern daily life. The use of a standard Book of Discipline meant that meetings throughout the Quaker world were very similar. The authority of the Discipline was based on its central role in imparting guidelines to monitor and control an expansive faith community. The underpinning of the Discipline and the structure of Quaker meetings assisted in the rapid establishment of a steadfast community of Friends on Yonge Street. Yet, even though the Discipline was imposed from above, it was interpreted in local meetings. As a result, members expected that they would play a role in shaping their community. It was because Friends were responsible for influencing their community that challenges to the Discipline arose. Some challenges, like that presented by David Willson and his followers, fractured the community. Although the community was fractured, it was not broken. Faith, family and friends continued to unite the Yonge Street Quakers as the community entered its next stage.

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[51] "Phoebe Roberts' Diary," *Ontario History* 42, 1(October 1950): 20.

PART TWO

THE SECOND-GENERATION COMMUNITY

Chapter Six
The Fragmentation of Friends: The Second Generation Yonge Street Quaker Community and the Movement away from Sectarianism

The separation of the Children of Peace created a number of fissures in the Yonge Street community. Not only did it physically remove a significant group from the meetings for business and worship, but the fractious disputes between weighty Friends heightened tensions in the community and pushed issues of doctrine to the surface where they were discussed openly in the meeting and in the homes of Friends. Even though Friends had no written doctrine or creed, many were satisfied that they were united in their understanding of the original tenets of Quakerism. Occasional challenges to the belief system or the integrity of the community, such as the one produced by David Willson and his followers, were dealt with easily by disowning the offending parties. Although that schism disassociated a group of Quakers, the disowned group was not sufficiently sizeable for Friends to be overly concerned about the future of the Yonge Street community.

The second generation of the community began with a strong and vibrant Quaker meeting. Moreover, as the Children of Peace developed more flamboyant rituals, Yonge Street Friends reasoned that the Davidites could hardly be equated with the principles of Quakerism originally expressed by George Fox. The Children of Peace seemed so obviously un-Quakerlike to their Quaker neighbours that Willson's followers did not appear to constitute a continued doctrinal threat once they were removed from membership. The testimonies against those who followed Willson indicate that Yonge Street Friends viewed the decision of devout Friends to embrace Willson's teaching as an aberration that would end when the transgressors saw the error of their ways. This was confirmed in Friends' minds once a number of the strongest members of Willson's group returned to membership in the Society. Yet, even though those who followed Willson were disowned, they were not removed from the community. Connections between families and neighbours remained. And the issue of doctrine and 'heretical' beliefs would not go away, eventually leading to the fragmenting of the faith community in 1828 and the integration of Friends into mainstream society.

The second-generation Quaker community on Yonge Street built on the foundation of the first. This was still very much a group of frontier settlements in 1814. Even by 1820, visiting minister Jacob Albertson commented that the road was appalling and the area was still an untamed wilderness. Upon arriving at Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, he wrote to his wife and children, "the road to this place is the wors [sic] road we have met with, I think I may be safe in saying we rode 25 miles over logg laye [sic] close together from 6 inches to 18 inches over and most of the way a pine and sedar [sic] swamp and the houses along the wey [sic] but little and mostly mean great part of the wey a wilderness."[1] Any improvements to Yonge Street, forced by the war, were obviously not significant enough to improve travel noticeably. Despite the wilderness conditions, the second generation of the Yonge Street community witnessed considerable changes to the landscape and settlements around them. Shanties gave way to log houses and, in the 1820s, the first brick homes began to appear in the area.[2] As insulated as Friends tried to keep themselves, they could not deny that they were a community within a colony that was increasingly mature.

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[1] Jacob Albertson to wife and children, 20-10-1820, Albertson File, CYM Archives.

The 1820s, especially, were an important period in the economic and agricultural development of the geographic community where Yonge Street Friends were located. A marked increase in immigration brought large numbers of non-Quakers to the area and forest was quickly turned to farmland.[3] The population changes and shifting demographics in the geographic communities around Friends brought about heightened awareness of Upper Canadian society. It was in this environment that two major crises in the second-generation Yonge Street Friends community occurred. The Hicksite-Orthodox separation in 1828 fragmented the Quaker faith community and pushed Yonge Street Quakers to address their choices for dealing with mainstream society. As another generation of Quakers reached adulthood, their aspiration to establish themselves as yeoman farmers was complicated by the decreased availability of non-clergy or crown reserve land in proximity to their community. Caught between their principles and their desire to remain close to family and Friends, young Quakers increasingly found themselves at odds with the policies of the colonial administration. Frustration with the provincial government was something they shared with non-Quaker around them. More ties with non-Quakers and further integration into mainstream society after 1828 drew a significant group of Quakers into political activity and eventually into active involvement

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[2] Brian Coffey, "From Shanty to House: Log Construction in Nineteenth-Century Ontario," *Material Culture* 16, 2(1984): 61-75.

[3] Peter A. Russell, "Forest into Farmland: Upper Canadian Clearing Rates, 1822-1839," in J.K. Johnson and Bruce G. Wilson, eds., *Historical Essays on Upper Canada: New Perspectives* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1991), 131-149. See also, T.W. Achenson, "The Nature and Structure of York Commerce in the 1820s," in J.K. Johnson, ed., *Historical Essays on Upper Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975), 171-193 and Douglas McCalla, "The Internal Economy of Upper Canada: New Evidence on Agricultural Marketing Before 1850," in Johnson and Wilson, eds., *Historical Essays on Upper Canada: New Perspectives*, 237-260; and Douglas McCalla, *Planting the Province: The Economic History of Upper Canada, 1784-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 45-91.

in the Rebellion of 1837.[4] The notable involvement of Friends in the Rebellion marks the end of the second-generation community. Quaker commitment to an event so central to the mainstream political culture of the period reveals a marked difference in the relationship of Friends with Upper Canadian society. They began to become an integrated rather than separate group of people. Within the third generation, their integration into Upper Canadian society would be complete.

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The second-generation community began with a noticeable expansion of ministerial activity at Yonge Street. Although no specific reason is given for this, it was almost certainly associated with the fermenting doctrinal disputes that began with the separation of the Children of Peace. Friends in other meetings would have been concerned about the schism at Yonge Street and its effect on the faith community. It was well known throughout the New York Yearly Meeting since David Willson, Rachel Lundy, and William Reid tried to have their disownments appealed. Although they were refused by both the Canada Half-Year's Meeting and the Yearly Meeting in New York, the case and its accompanying doctrinal challenges peaked the interest of Quakers far and wide.[5] Doctrinal disagreements at the yearly meeting also encouraged a higher incidence of charismatic visiting ministers to Yonge Street where they eagerly enlisted Friends for their 'side' of the debate. Despite the poor condition of the road, between 1815 and 1819, twenty-two Friends were recorded as visiting ministers in Yonge Street meetings; between 1820 and the Orthodox-Hicksite separation in 1828 fifteen visiting ministers were recorded.[6] Although there were fewer outside ministers visiting in the period just preceding the separation, those who came during that time were ministers sent directly from the London Yearly Meeting: Elizabeth Robson, Isaac Stephenson, and Thomas Shillatoe. However, it was not just the ministers from outside who contributed to the excitement in the travelling ministry. Yonge Street Friends themselves began to get involved in the disputes and were actively engaged in their own travels. This increase in local ministerial activity in the years following the 1812 schism indicates that the circumstances that led to the eventual split in 1827-28 were the result of simmering differences over a number of years rather than sudden doctrinal revelations. [7]

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[4] In addition to formal political activity, petitioning became very popular in Upper Canada in the years leading up to the Rebellion of 1837. The Home District, where the Yonge Street Quakers were located, was especially active in sending oppositionist petitions to the government. Carol Wilton has shown that, of the oppositionist signatures on petitions in 1831-32, 45.68 percent came from the Home District, over four times that of any other district in Upper Canada. Carol Wilton, *Popular Politics and Political Culture in Upper Canada, 1800-1850* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), 239. There was also formal political activity. Samuel Lount, a Quaker from Holland Landing and a leader in the Rebellion, was a member of the House of Assembly in the 1830s, before he took up arms and led a ramshackle group of dissidents down Yonge Street in an effort to overturn the colonial government.

[5] When Willson began to incorporate music into his meetings and enlisted the services of retired military officer, Richard Coates, to build the colony's first barrel organ and to conduct a silver band, the sect

By the 1820s, Yonge Street was still the largest Upper Canadian meeting, despite the Davidite schism a decade earlier. According to the records of travelling minister Isaac Stephenson, in 1824 Yonge Street claimed a total membership of six hundred forty-three.[8] The meeting had four recognised ministers: Margaret Bonnel at Yonge Street, Martha Widdifield at Whitchurch, and Nicholas Brown and John A. Haight at Pickering.

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became even more of an attraction. Once the temple at Sharon was built, the Children of Peace served as a tourist attraction of sorts, for both Quakers and non-Quakers who visited the colony.

[6] This does not include those who visited the Canada Half-Year's Meeting. These numbers have been compiled from the minutes of the Yonge Street preparatives and the Monthly Meeting.

[7] The first large Hicksite-Orthodox separation took place in the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1827. The following summer, in 1828, the New York Yearly Meeting split. Even though the Yonge Street Friends were under the authority of the New York Yearly Meeting, they were well aware of the division in the Philadelphia meeting in 1827.

[8] This is recorded members only. There would also have been adherents or members who had been disowned who would still have been attending meeting for worship. Of these members, 232 were at Yonge Street Preparative Meeting, 62 were at Queen Street, 130 were at Whitchurch, 78 were at Uxbridge, and 141 were at Pickering. West Lake Monthly Meeting had a total Monthly Meeting membership of 556, Pelham 282, and Norwich Monthly Meeting, which had been set off from Pelham in 1819, claimed 395 members. Isaac Stephenson Letters, MS 303, Reel 54, D-2-10. These letters are dated 1824.

There were also eight elders: at Yonge Street Thomas and Martha Linvill, Amos and Martha Armitage, and Henry Bonnel; at Whitchurch Henry and Phebe Widdifield; and, at Pickering Joseph Webster. This strong leadership in a growing and vibrant faith community made the Yonge Street meeting an attractive location for Quakers who immigrated to Upper Canada.

Continued growth of the Yonge Street meeting was due, in large part, to ongoing immigration in the post-war period. Of the total number of certificates of transfer received by the Yonge Street meeting between 1800 and 1828, thirty-six percent were brought to the meeting in the years after 1814.[9] The significant difference in immigration in the second-generation community was the meetings of origin of those who arrived at Yonge Street. Where the Pennsylvania Friends had far out-numbered other Quakers in the pre-1812 period, immigration into the second-generation community produced a much more pluralistic Quaker community.[10] In the fourteen years between 1814 and 1828, when the Hicksite-Orthodox schism took place, sixty-eight certificates of transfer were deposited at the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting. Twelve of those came from Pennsylvania and thirteen arrived from Vermont. Other American meetings were represented, with two certificates being received from New Jersey meetings and ten coming from New York. Thirteen families moved to Yonge Street from other Upper Canadian communities. Notably, the largest group of Quaker immigrants in this period—eighteen families in total—came from Great Britain. Fourteen of these families were Irish and four were English.

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[9] There were 188 certificates of transfer presented to the Yonge Street Meeting in the period between 1800 and 1828. Of those, 68 were presented after 1814.

[10] See Figure One in Chapter Two for a breakdown of the meetings of origin of immigrant Friends to Yonge Street.

This immigration noticeably altered the composition of the Friends community at Yonge Street. The large influx of British Friends with their commitment to orthodoxy had especially important consequences on the theological makeup of the community. Their arrival during a period of intensified ministerial activity had an impact on the reception of the messages of travelling ministers and the doctrinal debates that continued to brew.

The ministerial activity in Upper Canada was an extension of the same activity elsewhere in the North American Society of Friends as Quakers faced off across theological lines that eventually led to the separation in 1828. Discord plagued the Society as Quakers came into sharp disagreement over their religious organisation as a church or sect.[11] Even though Quakers were not a people who lived apart from society, they had vigilantly worked to keep themselves insulated from the society in which they lived. This had resulted in their designation as a peculiar people, a designation they cherished and maintained with dress codes and speech codes which immediately indicated they were different from non-Quakers. Yet, as much as they had attempted to keep themselves apart, they could not withstand the onslaught of western settlement or the influence of the evangelical revival that burned over the northern United States and Upper Canada in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[12] This revival, begun by John Wesley, had started in the Church of England and resulted in the rise of Methodism in the mid-eighteenth century. Within this revival, the term evangelical took on specific connotations. Not only did it refer to the proselytising of believers, it came to mean acceptance of a certain set of beliefs which included: belief in the infallibility of divinely-inspired Scripture and acceptance of Jesus Christ as the son of God and his death as the atonement for the sin of humankind. Evangelicalism became a definite theological system and, for its exponents, belief in its component doctrinal parts was assumed to be essential to salvation. This was at direct odds with quietism, a more mystic approach to the relationship between God and humankind. The quietists believed in the direct spiritual inspiration of the Inner Light as the sole basis for their religion. Both of these religious crusades were themselves responses to intellectual movements in the secular world. The Age of Reason and the rise of deistic thought was countered by evangelicals and it was within this larger environment that the separation occurred. Evangelical Methodism was one of the most influential movements on the continent. It dealt a mighty blow to Quakerism because it struck at the heart of their worldview and identity. It separated family, friends, and neighbours into unforgiving, opposing camps. The dissension that led up to the separation was decidedly 'un-Quakerly.' It demonstrated what Arthur Dorland called, "a conspicuous lack of love, and a complete misunderstanding of the real genius of Primitive Quakerism of which they both [the Hicksites and the Orthodox] claimed to be the true exponents."[13]

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[11] Sect forms of organisation include a rejection of formality, internal specialisation, and the mores of the 'world'. This is usually coupled by a strict behavioural code. Church forms of organisation include more formality, internal specialisation, a code based more on belief than behaviour, and acceptance of the social mores of the world. Robert W. Doherty, *The Hicksite Separation: A Sociological Analysis of Religious Schism in Early Nineteenth Century America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1967), 3-15.

[12] Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1982).

Although there was no distinctive line to separate those who supported the Hicksites from those who supported the Orthodox in the Yonge Street meeting, records show that the Hicksite group was largely composed of Pennsylvanians. There were, however, Pennsylvanians who supported the Orthodox. Most of the Vermonters became Orthodox as did all of the English and Irish Friends. There were some notable exceptions. For instance, Nicholas Brown was a recognised minister who had immigrated to the Pickering area from Vermont. At the time of the split he was an ardent Hicksite. In the years leading up to the separation in the Yonge Street meeting, Brown had visited the Yearly Meetings of New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore. He was well-versed in the politics of the dispute. Moreover, after his first wife died in 1826, Brown had married Margaret Judge, the daughter of Hugh Judge, one of the most outspoken supporters of the Hicksite cause in the New York Yearly Meeting. Together, Nicholas and Margaret Brown and her father Hugh Judge played a pivotal role in the separation in the New York Yearly Meeting.[14] Their activity at the yearly-meeting level was bound to have repercussions in the local community.

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[13] Arthur Garrett Dorland, *The Quakers in Canada: A History* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1968), 124.

The years leading up to the separation drove a serious wedge between family and friends in the extended Society. For the Yonge Street Quakers, it was disastrous. We know from the journals of visiting ministers that long-standing quarrels continued to trouble the Yonge Street community. The tenor of the Yonge Street meetings was particularly divisive, especially at Pickering where two ministers, John A. Haight and Nicholas Brown, faced off.[15]

The meeting minutes tell us little about the controversies that chafed at the unity among Friends. Yet, the strain in the meeting in the years leading up to the separation is apparent by what is not recorded in the minutes. Because all insertions into the minutes were the result of decisions based on consensus, divisive disagreements between feuding parties meant that consensus was accomplished with great difficulty; sometimes it was not achieved at all. Minute books, which were customarily filled with numerous items of business, changed noticeably in this period. In some cases, especially at the preparative meeting level, there were consecutive months where the only information recorded in the meeting was its date! Obviously there was nothing more than the date upon which Yonge Street Friends could agree. This was the case from meetings which, according to the journals of the period, lasted for hours.[16] The business of the meeting became stagnant and almost impossible to conduct. Consensus could only function with a certain amount of unity; without it community governance began to falter.

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[14] Christopher Densmore and Albert Schrauwers eds., *"The Best Man for Settling New Country...": The Journal of Timothy Rogers* (Toronto: Canadian Friends Historical Association, 2000), 118, footnote 1.

[15] "Copies of Letters of Elizabeth Robson," 1824-28, in "Quaker Women's Diaries: The Diaries of Elizabeth Robson, 1813-1843," World Microfilms Publications, Reel 6, No. 134, 29-12-1824. Robson's diaries indicate that at least four years before the actual separation, the interactions in the meeting has become very strained.

By early 1827 it is apparent that the chasm between the evangelical orthodox and eighteenth-century quietist Quakers had become too wide to bridge. Meetings that carried on late into the day took their toll on members who had farms and businesses to care for. These Quakers still lived in very frontier-like conditions. Travel to monthly meeting in a lumber wagon, one of the only vehicles that could tolerate road conditions, could take hours. Having to sit with fussy infants and restless children was possible for an hour but could become a great trial when that meeting extended to six or seven hours in length. The strain spilled over into the community and wore at the ties that held Friends together. A marked increase in complaints of defaming neighbours and people calling each other 'infernal liars' occurred during this period. Whether the complaint against John Cuir, charging that he "followed someone with an axe threatening to do him personal injury,"[17] was related to a theological difference is not absolute, but it is highly probable, given its location in the minutes and the atmosphere of the day. It speaks of the level of emotion and frustration that doctrinal issues incited among Yonge Street Friends. It was that level of emotion that tore families and long-time friends apart.

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[16] See, for instance, the journal entry of Thomas Shillatoe in Chapter Seven.

The actual separation among Yonge Street Friends occurred in the early summer of 1828, following the separation in the New York Yearly Meeting. Both the Hicksites and the Orthodox considered themselves the true Society of Friends and began disowning members who had attached themselves to the opposite group. The London Yearly Meeting, in which there was no separation, recognised the Orthodox group who shared their doctrinal stance. Coming as it did from the centre of Quakerism, the Orthodox viewed this recognition as proof that they were indeed the real Society of Friends. The Hicksites, who eventually gathered under the Genesee Yearly Meeting, considered these actions as just another indication of the level of depravity that had crept into the Society. Dissension and strife tore through the meetings. A great deal of effort was spent in dealing internally with the splits. Some meetings were so badly divided that they needed to be "laid down" or closed. Others lingered on and were unable to gather the excitement and momentum of the earlier years. Because of their theology, the Hicksites initially remained distinct as a group, but the Orthodox, who were numerically stronger in the Yonge Street meeting, were able to develop closer ties with those who shared their theological underpinnings—the Methodists. Added to this, the immigration of more Friends from the British Isles in this period brought with it the influence of the orthodox London Yearly Meeting, which itself was heavily influenced by the evangelical teachings of Joseph John Gurney.[18]

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[17] Yonge Street Preparative Meeting of Ministers and Elders, 1828-1835, MS 303, Reel 26, B-2-78, 16-04-1829.

[18] Joseph John Gurney was the brother of Elizabeth Fry, famed for her work in prison reform. Gurney taught the importance of the authority of the Scriptures over the divine leading of the Inner Light. In 1837,

Recorded membership decreased fairly drastically in the months after the separation, partially due to the insistence of both the Hicksite and Orthodox groups to have complete records of their membership. Many monthly meetings took this opportunity to clean up and update their membership lists. In many cases the names of many 'nominal' Quakers were removed. This does not mean that these Friends left the community or no longer considered themselves Quakers. It simply indicates that the devout Friends who led each group took this opportunity to indicate those who had actively taken 'sides' in the recent division. The names of the children of disowned Friends were also removed from membership. For example, in one monthly meeting in 1830, the Orthodox meeting records from the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting noted the disownment of seven men. All of them were disowned for failing to attend meetings and for joining the militia. All of them were members of the Children of Peace and belonged to families that had joined the sect seventeen years earlier![19]

Immediately following the actual separation, the groups descended into rather vicious quarrels over ownership of the meeting's property. Opposing groups in each of the preparative meetings locked each other out of the meetinghouses. Because they were the larger group, meetinghouses remained in the hands of Orthodox Quakers, although

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he was granted a certificate from the London Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, to travel to the United States on a religious concern. He was in the United States for three years. The certificate that was issued to him was issued grudgingly as there were leaders within the Yearly Meetings who had serious misgivings about his theological bent. John Wilbur, a Friend from Rhode Island, had visited the meetings in Great Britain between 1831-1833 and returned with grave scepticism on the directions being taken by the evangelical wing of the Society, which had launched into foreign missions. The debate that arose between Gurney and Wilbur eventually led to yet another separation in the Orthodox American and Canadian meetings in 1881. The Gurneyites followed a very evangelical path which included missions activities, planned meetings and paid pastoral staff. The Wilburites or Conservative Friends retreated into the old shell of quietism and concentrated on guarding what remained of their ancient traditions. The Hicksites also experienced another schism in 1848 when the Congregational of Progressive Friends separated from the Genessee Yearly Meeting. Dorland, *The Quakers in Canada*, passim.

not without "great trials and perplexities" on both sides.[20] The doctrinal battles that spilled over into disputes over control of property heightened the contention between the groups. For a number of months both sides found it virtually impossible to transact business. Because each group claimed to be the real Society of Friends, they competed with the other and tried to transact their business concurrently in the same meetinghouse. This soon degenerated into nasty verbal and physical disputes. Barred from meetinghouses, heckled in meetings, and consumed with trying to figure out which Friends belonged with which group, the business activity of both the Hicksites and the Orthodox came to a grinding halt. Moreover, at the same time that their energies were invested in dealing with the crisis, their financial resources, of the Hicksites at least, were directed into the building of new meetinghouses. This effectively drained the community of much of the vitality it had possessed as a separate and distinct group. Emotions ran high and those who had been friends were, for a period of time, viewed as adversaries. A humorous bit of folklore hints at the depth of animosity that existed in relationships between the two groups: one morning a mother and her daughter went out to the hen house to collect eggs for the family meal. When the mother was not able to find any eggs, her daughter piped up, "dost thou think the Hicksites took them?"[21] The child's assumption that the obvious perpetrator of a crime would be a member of the opposite group of Quakers indicates that children were as affected by the fissures that divided their community as their parents.

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[19] Those disowned include: Alexander McLeod, Abraham Doan, Elias Doan, John Doan Jr., Charles Doan, and Reuben Lundy. Yonge Street Preparative Meeting of Ministers and Elders, 1828-1835, B-2-78, 18-03-1830.

[20] Ibid., 15-01-1829.

[21] This story is also told with the Orthodox stealing the eggs. Interview with Jane Zavitz-Bond, Pickering College, February 1998.

To add fuel to the fire on Yonge Street, the Hicksite-Orthodox schism occurred at the same time that the Children of Peace were at their zenith and were pouring all of their resources into the construction of the elaborate temple at Sharon. Where other Quaker communities were split in two at this time, the Yonge Street Quaker community was fragmented into three distinct groups: the Hicksite, Orthodox, and Davidites, or Children of Peace. The Children of Peace watched the unfolding events of the second separation with great interest. Some even offered opinions on the reasons for the separation. For instance, Samuel Hughes, one of the leaders in Willson's sect was certain that the explanation for the separation in 1828 was directly related to the refusal of Friends on Yonge Street and at the Yearly Meeting to accept the Children of Peace's efforts at reconciliation. After the Children of Peace were disowned in 1812 "through the despotic authority exercised by the elders," Hughes claimed that all "offers of peace" towards Friends were rejected. Hughes also asserted that after they were refused a hearing at the yearly meeting, Willson's group sent several epistles to Friends "testifying that God would visit them with his judgements,—and their 'Society would be rent, even to its very foundation...." Finally, just before the actual separation in 1828, "having long been denied the privilege of speaking in their places of worship," Hughes went to Yonge Street and "stood in the open street" warning Friends there that "a day of trouble (as to them) was at hand." Again Friends refused to countenance Hughes's warnings, the consequence of which, Hughes remarked, was that "the desolation of the Society came, like a fierce storm from the heavens, and none was able to stay the fury thereof until they were rent from the top to the bottom." Witnessing "the hostile spirit of ill-will and envy which appeared among them, [Hughes] despaired of living ever to see the Society restored to order and peace again." [22] Observing the events of 1828, the Children of Peace would have remembered their own disownment. Well aware of the current success of their sect, they felt free to issue judgements on the Society with impunity.

The Children of Peace were not the only group watching these developments with interest. Population growth in the area had not only been a result of Quaker immigration. Non-Quakers had also flocked to the fertile farming communities north of York. This was especially so in the 1820s and 1830s as the townships in southern Upper Canada filled up. Because Friends did not separate themselves physically from the society in which they lived, they soon found themselves surrounded by non-Quakers. Increased interactions with non-Friends were the logical result of pioneer work bees and neighbourly assistance. Moreover, Quakers who had blacksmith or joiner shops on Yonge Street or mills in Newmarket would certainly have served a non-Quaker clientele. The closure of the Quaker school on Yonge Street after the Hicksite-Orthodox separation meant that the children of the meeting attended local schools where they were exposed to non-Quakers and their ideas. Finally, in the 1820s, connections with the larger society were marked by a slightly higher incidence of marriage between Friends and non-Friends from the local community.[23] There were also numerous opportunities for affiliation with non-Friends who were evidently eager to discuss questions of doctrine.

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[22] Samuel Hughes, *A Vision Concerning the Desolation of Zion: The Fall of Religion Among the Quakers, set forth in a similtude or vision of the mind. Particularly dedicated to the captives, or scattered tribes of that body, now commonly called Orthodox and Hicksites.* (Toronto: J.H. Lawrence, 1835), 3-4.

[23] Here I refer to marriages to those who were never Quakers, not those who were disowned Quakers and remained part of the Friends community. The issue of marriage out of the community becomes even more complex after the separation, since both groups disowned members for marrying those from the other 'side,' who were considered by the other as non-members. Without reconstructing the entire geographic community of the Yonge Street meeting, it is impossible to determine precisely what some of the relationships between Friends and non-Friends were. However, of those disowned for marrying out in the 1820s, there is a slightly higher incidence of names that appear 'foreign' to the Quaker community.

The journals of the visiting ministers indicate that non-Quakers regularly attended Friends' meetings and commented on their content. In 1821 Phoebe Roberts observed that a fair allotment of non-Quakers attended the meetings at which she spoke.[24] Enough non-Quakers were attending Quaker meetings in 1824 that a companion of Priscilla Cadwallader specifically commented on their numbers.[25] And in 1827, when doctrinal disputes were getting especially nasty, Thomas Shillatoe noted that the monthly meeting "was largely attended," and "many of other societies gave us their company."[26] Interest in travelling ministers drew a crowd. For this same reason, Quakers attended the camp meetings regularly held by itinerant Methodist circuit riders. The increased interactions between Quakers and their non-Quaker neighbours in this period, however, was due to more than interest in hearing another sermon. Rather, according to the Hicksites, the Orthodox had actively undertaken to enlist the support of their non-Quaker neighbours in their doctrinal debates.[27] Influenced as they had been by Christian evangelicalism, the Orthodox found that they had more in common doctrinally with the Methodists than they did with their Hicksite brethren. The Orthodox did not hesitate to use this larger community support in the separation to gain control of their meetinghouses and property.[28]

Population growth, a more settled farming district in which rustic log dwelling houses had been replaced with large barns and frame homes, and a greater feeling of affinity with their Methodist and other evangelical neighbours meant that the Quakers began to be concerned with many of the same social and political issues that concerned their non-Quaker neighbours. This process had not only been the result of religious fragmentation. It had taken place over a number of years as Quakers found themselves caught between their faith community and the society in which they lived. Quaker testimonies on pacifism, oaths, and a paid ministry had created problems for Yonge Street Friends since their arrival in Upper Canada. As Quakers, they recognised that their principles could cause them personal hardship and they were prepared to accept the burdens associated with their faith. After all, a long tradition of Quaker martyrs had been kept alive in Quaker publications. However, the colonial legislature seemed to be continually unresponsive to the concerns of Friends. For instance, it had been firmly established by the Canada Half-Year's Meeting in 1810 that no Quaker could lease Clergy Reserves since it was inconsistent with the religious principles of Quakers to do so.[29] In the early community this was not source of extensive hardship. However, by the time the second generation of Quakers in Upper Canada was looking for land to farm, the Quaker and non-Quaker community had grown.

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[24] "Phoebe Roberts' Diary," *Ontario History*, 23.
[25] *Memoir of Priscilla Cadwallader*, 2nd edition (Philadelphia: T.Ellwood Zell and Co., 1864), 40.
[26] *Journal of Thomas Shillatoe*, 2 volumes (London,: n.p., 1839), 209.
[27] *The Friend, or Advocate of Truth for the Year 1829, volume II* (Philadelphia: MTC Gould, 1829), 25-28.
[28] Ibid.

This new group of young adults had to purchase land, unlike their parents. Other than the cost associated with the purchase price, land was difficult to attain in the townships in which the Quakers lived. For instance, by 1825, 75.8 percent of the patented land in the townships of East and West Gwillimbury was occupied, an increase of 56.7 percent from 1820.[30] The remaining land, not reserved as Clergy Reserves became harder to find and those who wanted it were pushed to move further afield or had to satisfy themselves with land provided to them by their parents. Also frustrating for Quakers who lived in those townships with larger percentages of unoccupied land was the issue of land speculators who held huge amounts of unimproved land that could be purchased at only the most exorbitant prices. These land speculators, of which the government was the largest, were holding back lands until improvements in surrounding areas drove up land prices.[31] Where East and West Gwillimbury were filling up, the other townships boasted large blocks of uncultivated, undeveloped, not-for-sale land.[32]

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[29] Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 1806-1818, MS 303, Reel 27, B-2-83, 18-10-1810.

[30] Compare this with the other "Quaker" townships in the same period. 30.3 percent of patented land was occupied in Pickering, an increase of 19.3 percent from 1820. In Whitchurch and Uxbridge 41.8 percent of the patented land was occupied, up 10.7 percent from five years earlier. King township had only 20.5 percent of its patented land occupied, a percentage increase of 23.3 percent from 1820. Leo A. Johnson, "Land Policy, Population Growth and Social Structure in the Home District, 1793-1851," in J.K. Johnson, ed., *Historical Essays on Upper Canada*, 44.

Moreover, the roads fronting clergy-reserve land or land held by speculators remained primitive and underdeveloped. For farmers trying to get their product to market on unimproved roads, the Clergy Reserves and the unoccupied lands were not just a literal source of frustration, they were a symbolic reminder of the inequality entrenched in colonial Upper Canadian society. For young adults who were trying to make a living as farmers, this was also a personal issue. They could either lease the Clergy Reserves, or they could go deeper into the woods to the newly-opened townships. At times, Friends compromised their principles and leased the Clergy Reserves rather than move away from family; in other cases Friends did move further west and north to take up land. In the 1830s, indulged meetings for worship were requested in both Tecumseth and Eramosa indicating sizeable Quaker populations had moved into those areas.[33]

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[31] Gerald M. Craig, *Upper Canada: The Formative Years, 1784-1841* (1963 rpt.: Toronto: McClelland and Steward, 1991), 131.

[32] The problem of obtaining land was not confined to the townships in which the Quakers were located. This was a province-wide problem by the1820s and led to a higher frequency of illegal settlement or 'squatting' on unoccupied land. See Craig, *Upper Canada*, 141 and S.J. R. Noel, *Patrons, Clients, Brokers: Ontario Society and Politics, 1791-1896* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 81-2.

[33] Yonge Street Preparative Meeting of Ministers and Elders, 1828-1835, 15-12-1831 and 12-12-1833. Friends who moved to Eramosa from the Yonge Street area found the distance to monthly meeting

As much as the Clergy Reserves became a personal issue for Quakers in the second-generation community, they were also an issue for non-Quakers who lived in the geographic community. In the mid-1820s the Clergy Reserves had also become an extremely contentious issue in the political life of the colony.[34] The wording of the 1791 Constitutional Act set aside one-seventh of all land in the colony for "the support and maintenance of the Protestant clergy." As far as the colonial authorities were concerned, the Protestant clergy could be none other than the Church of England, the established church in the colony.[35] Yet, in 1819 a group of Presbyterians from the Niagara District petitioned the government for support, arguing that the proceeds of the Clergy Reserves should not be confined to the Church of England alone. They did this on the principle that the Church of Scotland was one of the established churches in Great Britain. The response from the Colonial Office, suggesting that the Presbyterians were indeed entitled to some support, was not well-received by the likes of John Strachan and the executive council. Strachan's fear was that conceding a share of Clergy Reserve proceeds to the Church of Scotland might lead all of the Protestant denominations to demand their share of revenue from the Reserves, something he was determined would never happen. The debate really heated up in 1825 when Strachan took pot shots at the other Protestant denominations during a funeral sermon for Bishop Mountain, the Anglican bishop of Upper Canada. Strachan was particularly scathing of the Methodists. A young

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prohibitive. They also requested that they be transferred under the care of the Pelham Monthly Meeting, which was closer for them.

[34] For a general discussion of the political tensions created by the Clergy Reserves in this period see Craig, *Upper Canada*, 171-9.

[35] This was especially the case after 1812, when the growth of rival Protestant denominations in the colony became a cause for concern to the Anglicans. After the War of 1812 John Strachan put in a concerted effort to strengthen the church's institutional foundations by taking measures to turn the clergy reserves in a landed endowment and by attempting to create a university controlled by the Anglican church. Curtis

Methodist minister, twenty-three year old Egerton Ryerson, responded with a compelling rebuttal which was viewed by his fellow Methodists as "the commencement of the war for religious liberty."[36] What followed was an extended period of intense denominational rivalries and sectarian debate that would dominate the political life of the colony for a long time.[37]

As frustrating as Friends found the Clergy Reserves, the situation with military fines was even more contentious. Friends had done their best in 1806 to ensure that the colonial government recognise the Quaker testimony on pacifism. Their refusal to pay fines in lieu of service had cost them dearly, both financially and in jail terms, in the years around the War of 1812. Although the situation calmed down for a number of years after the war, it did not go away. In 1830 it was reported in the monthly meeting that a bill was pending before the Assembly "to repeal an Act formerly passed, requiring members of our religious society with those of certain other religious societies (who are exempt by law from military requisitions) to pay a specified sum yearly on that account." If that was not enough to upset Friends, another act was before the Assembly: "requiring the members of said societies to work on the publick [sic] highways over and above their common statue labour to the amount of such demand as may be required of them of account of said exemptions."[38] The response of Friends was outright refusal to comply.

Fahey, *In His Name: The Anglican Experience in Upper Canada, 1791-1854* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1991), 61-74.

[36] Quoted in Craig, *Upper Canada*, 174.

[37] The secularisation of the Clergy Reserves was not achieved until 1854. Throughout this period, Upper Canadians continued to challenge the primacy of the Church of England and the Anglican-controlled King's College which were the recepients of the proceeds from the Clergy Reserves. In the 1830s a number of petitions were presented to the government calling for the secularisation of the Clergy Reserves. Wilton, *Popular Politics*, 46, 51-2, 172. See also Fahey, *In His Name*, 89-188 and Goldwin S. French, Égerton Ryerson and the Methodist Model for Upper Canada," in Johnson and Wilson, eds. *Historical Essays on Upper Canada: New Perspectives*, 537-53.

[38] Yonge Street Preparative Meeting of Ministers and Elders, 1828-1835, 18-02-1830.

Thomas Linville and Asa Randall were appointed to notify the lieutenant governor of their decision; they did so immediately. This issue did not go away. In early 1835 the meeting was again addressing the issue of statutes passed in the Assembly requiring Quakers to pay a fine in lieu of service. Although they were aware that enforcement of the bill would "subject Friends to great embarassments," this time they did not respond immediately to the lieutenant governor. Rather, they noted only that "farther care will be necessary."[39] For Yonge Street Friends, the dictates of their faith was more frequently putting them at odds with the colonial administration. Decisions to live a particular way of life were becoming decidedly political. And Quakers were increasingly irritated by what they saw as an unresponsive and immoral government.

Friends were not the only ones who felt vexed with the colonial government. By the 1830s, Newmarket and surrounding area, which were a part of the Home district, had become a hotbed of political dissent.[40] Quakers and non-Quakers alike saw the unresponsiveness of the colonial government as confirmation of its corruption. Lack of improvements in roads, schools, and religious facilities were a festering sore. Political debates surrounding the Alien Question in the 1820s had pushed the issue of the legitimacy of dissent to the centre of political debate and had forced colonial leaders to articulate their idea of loyalty.[41] The issues contested in the discussion that swirled around the Alien Question were of direct importance to Quakers on Yonge Street and elsewhere in the province. The fact that, as "Americans," the majority of the Quaker community could become dispossessed and disenfranchised would have ignited even more confrontations in an antagonistic environment. The debate that led up to the final approval of the Naturalisation Act also sharply illuminated the divergent attitudes of the Tories and Reformers.[42] And in the 1828 election more Reformers than Tories were elected to the Assembly. Pressure in the Quaker community was high. Religiously, the faith community was fragmented in 1828. Coupled with that were the political tensions that had been brewing in the larger geographic community throughout the 1820s.

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[39] Ibid., 12-02-1835.

[40] In addition to the fact that this was William Lyon Mackenzie's riding, this was also the most active petitioning district in the colony. See Wilton, *Popular Politics and Political Culture in Upper Canada, 1800-1850.*

[41] David Mills, *The Idea of Loyalty in Upper Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), 34-51. See also, Craig, *Upper Canada,* 114-23.

In the 1830s political pressures in the Home District were fuelled by political rallies which featured William Lyon Mackenzie, one of the district's representatives in the Legislative Assembly. Throughout the 1830s, Mackenzie was repeatedly expelled from his seat in the Legislative Assembly for allegedly slandering its Tory members.[43] David Willson had become closely aligned with Mackenzie. In 1834 Willson was the main speaker at the first Reform convention.[44] He also regularly marched down Yonge Street with his silver band and choir of young women, denouncing the evils of the Family Compact. Samuel Lount, a Quaker blacksmith from Holland Landing, was also instrumental in Mackenzie's support. He, too, was frustrated for being ousted from his seat in the Assembly by the creative manoeuvrings of Lieutenant-Governor Sir Francis Bond Head. By 1837 there appeared to be community consensus that colonial justice could only be achieved one way—by resorting to violence to end the stranglehold of the Family Compact.

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[42] Jane Errington, *The Lion, the Eagle and Upper Canada: A Developing Colonial Ideology* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987), 184.
[43] Colin Read, *The Rebellion of 1837 in Upper Canada* (The Canadian Historical Association Historical Booklet no. 48,1988), 9.
[44] *Genealogies of the Builders of the Sharon Temple*, 53.

It was a Quaker, Samuel Lount, who rallied the young men of York County and led them down Yonge Street towards Montgomery's Tavern in December 1837. His troops were a rather disordered group of young men: Quakers, members of the Children of Peace, Selkirk Scots who had come to Upper Canada from their ill-fated experience in the Red River settlement, and various other settlers. Few had any military training. Those who did came largely from the Children of Peace at Sharon where, ironically, members trained regularly with firearms.[45]

Because of their involvement in the Rebellion, a large number of Quakers and members of the Children of Peace were arrested and jailed.[46] Many absconded across the border into the United States. Ironically, this is how Timothy Rogers's son, Asa, left Upper Canada. Asa Rogers Jr.[47] did not take up arms in the Rebellion; he did assist the 'rebels' by providing them with food, shelter, and the use of horses. As a result of his activity, he was arrested three times. Each time Quakers were successful in getting him released. After the third release, they warned him that any further arrests might result in his banishment to Van Dieman's Land. Not wanting to experience that fate, he and his family took only what they could carry and they fled through the night to Michigan.[48]

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[45] There iss some debate about whether or not the women of the Children of Peace were also trained in the use of firearms. John Duncumb, a visitor to the Temple, noted that "…the virgins, amongst other maneuvers [sic], are taught some rudiments in martial exercise, and are able to fire a platoon of musketry with such steadiness and precision, as would do credit to a professed soldier of the American States." Quoted in Albert Schrauwers, "Letters to the Children in Prison, 1838," *The York Pioneer* (1987): 29. However, there do not seem to be corroborating reports about military training for women.

[46] Among those disowned for their involvement in the Rebellion were: Joseph Watson, Isaac Dennis, Mark Hughes, Levi Dennis, John Webb, Joel Gould, William Hilborn, Platt Betts, Joseph Gould. Many Quakers did not take up arms but assisted in giving the 'rebels' food, shelter, and lending them their horses. Many of those arrested spent months in the Toronto Gaol, where conditions were abysmal. Hester Graham was thankful when she heard her son remained healthy, since "[s]ickness in prison is very bad, where one cannot have fresh air."" She reminded her son that if there was anything he needed, in particular, to send word and they would "get it if possible." Quoted in Schrauwers, "Letters to the Children in Prison," 34.

[47] This distinguishes Asa Rogers, the son of Timothy Rogers, from Asa Rogers, the son-in-law of Timothy Rogers.

Politics and faith collided on Yonge Street in 1837. The defence testimony of one participant, Joseph Brammer, indicates the issues that pressed a group of pacifists to take up arms: "Your Lordship, I am an Englishman, I have a heart as true and loyal to the Queen and to Britain as any British subject in the country but if you mean disloyal to the Family Compact and the men who are robbing this county, I am guilty."[49] Most of those who were arrested languished in York jails where they carved "Rebellion boxes," small hand-carved wooden boxes, often inlaid with political messages. The inscriptions on one of these boxes, carved by Quaker Jesse Cleaver as a gift to Merab Armitage is revealing of the reasons behind Quaker involvement in the Rebellion: "O when will tyrants cease to reign, the priests no longer preach for gain, and kings and emporers [sic] quit the throne and let the church of God alone."[50] This inscription indicates that the issue of the Clergy Reserves was key in the rebellious activities of this group. Some Quakers suffered a worse punishment than jail. Samuel Lount, along with Peter Matthews, was hanged April 12, 1838 for his participation in leading the insurrection.[51]

Although the Rebellion strengthened the determination of Tories to defend their exclusive idea of Upper Canadian identity, it also demonstrated the courage of the rebels' convictions in resisting perceived oppression.[52] It is here that one begins to see most clearly the evolution of the Yonge Street Quakers' identity. Their identity as a people separated and withdrawn from the world had changed enough that they were able to identify with their neighbours who shared similar concerns even though they may not have been Quakers. Friends had become part of the mainstream community. When a young Queen Victoria dispatched Lord Durham to inspect the state of the colonies in North America, Durham travelled through Upper and Lower Canada availing himself of public opinion. While in Newmarket, he stayed with Benjamin Pearson, a Yonge Street Quaker.[53] The shift in Quaker identity that had taken place over two generations was a combination of doctrinal differences which splintered the community and an effort to join with their non-Quaker neighbours to press for the legitimacy of dissent in the context of a British North American colony.

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[48] "Asa Rogers: The Story of moving his family from Canada to the United States in 1838; his efforts to regain property left in Canada." Unpublished paper, Rogers file, CYM Archives.

[49] *Genealogies of the Builders of the Sharon Temple*, 1.

[50] Armitage Family File, CYM Archives. The top of the box is inscribed, "A present to Merib Armitage from Jesse Cleaver while confined in Toronto Gaol under Charge of H. Treason, June 20th 1838." The ends were inlaid with "UC" and "LC"

[51] Quakers were also involved in the western uprising, as the conflict led by Dr. Charles Duncombe near London is known. In London, Joshua Gillam Doan, a birthright Quaker, was hanged for his involvement in the western uprising.

In 1837, as the Yonge Street community entered its third generation, Quaker identity in Upper Canada was not defunct; it was still very much alive. But it was changed. It had become less sectarian. Friends still adhered to their testimonies. Hicksite and Orthodox Friends involved in the Rebellion were disowned by their meetings. Key members of the Children of Peace and active Reformers, like Samuel Hughes and Ebenezer Doan, were also deeply troubled by the military involvement of some of their members in the Rebellion. When David Willson refused to discipline the offending parties, arguing that their imprisonment had been sufficient punishment, Hughes and Doan left the sect and returned to membership in the Society of Friends.

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[52] Read, *The Rebellion of 1837 in Upper Canada*, 24.
[53] Robert Terence Carter, *Newmarket: The Heart of York Region* (Newmarket: Dundurn Press Ltd., 1994), 35

Both men joined the Hicksites.[54] By the time that these events were occurring, however, evangelical revivalism had taken its toll. The disowned were no longer bereft of a voice in the geographic community. This was no longer the frontier. As disowned Friends joined other denominational groups, especially the Methodists, denominational barriers broke down even more. Further integration of Quaker children into the local common schools where non-Quaker lessons were taught also decreased the barriers that separated Friends from the world. Significantly important, however, was the desire of most Friends not to be "set apart" anymore. Most Quakers, both Orthodox and Hicksite, were looking for a faith that would allow them to participate in the affairs of the world.[55] Increasingly, young Friends who maintained membership in the Society were more nominal in their adherence to the letter of the Discipline. The movement towards non-sectarianism would be fully realised within a generation from the time of the Hicksite/Orthodox split. As census figures for 1851 demonstrate, 7,000 claimed to be Quakers, yet meeting records only record a membership of 1,000. For many Friends, their faith identity was not defined by membership alone. This was a direct result of the schism that had fragmented the Society in 1828.

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[54] *Genealogies of the Builders of the Sharon Temple*, 22, 39.

[55] It is usually conceded by Quaker historians that the Orthodox certainly wanted a religion which would "sanction and recognize their activities in the world." Robert W. Doherty, *The Hicksite Separation: A Sociological Analysis of Religious Schism in Early Nineteenth Century America* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1967), 31. However, even though the Hicksites originally wanted to maintain their peculiarity from the world, they also experienced a separation largely because there was a strong component that wanted to become more involved in the abolition movement.

Chapter Seven
The Hicksite-Orthodox Schism:
A House Divided

In July 1828, Joseph Pearson, acting clerk of the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, recorded a crisis of discipline. An acrimonious schism had formally divided Friends in the Yonge Street community. The clerk's comments indicate that the factions in the community had become estranged over a period of time: "for several years past the minds of many friends have been greatly exercised and pained in consequence of the promulgation of sentiments by persons under our name, contrary to the principles of our Religious Society and subversive of the faith of our members…." The "contrary" principles expressed by some Friends were directly related to three points of doctrine—the "authenticity and divine authority of the holy scriptures," "the divinity of … Jesus Christ and his Mediation and Intercession" between people and God, and the necessity of accepting "the propriatory [sic] sacrifice which he made on the cross for the redemption of mankind." The Orthodox accepted these three points of doctrine; the Hicksites did not. No amount of consensus-seeking could overcome these fundamental disagreements. As Pearson, a member of the Orthodox faction, noted:

> the disorganising effects of these antichristian opinions have been sorrowfully manifested amongst us producing insubordination to our Excellent Discipline and many of those who have been unhappily ensnared by these delusive stratagems of the Enemy have been gradually led on from one degree of disorder to another until at length they have openly gone our from our society and set up meeting of their own contrary to the good order and discipline established amongst us in the wisdom of truth.[1]

In the minds of the Hicksites, who also considered themselves the true Society of Friends, it was the Orthodox who had separated from the Society and "set up meetings contrary to discipline."[2] The community was deeply divided. The Yonge Street community had already experienced a fractious separation in 1812, when David Willson and his followers left the meeting and founded the Children of Peace. While that schism had been painful, the discord produced by the Hicksite-Orthodox separation was much more damaging to the integrity of the community.

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[1] Yonge Street Preparative Meting of Friends, 1804-1862, MS 303, Reel 26, B-2-76, 10-07-1828.

This separation was so destructive to the Yonge Street faith community because it fragmented a closely-knit group of Friends into opposing factions that divided the families and kin groups so carefully established in the first generation community. The damage was also extensive because the schism was not localised in the meeting. It tore apart the North American Society of Friends, separating extended families and Friends into opposing camps. The Hicksite separation was not the first separation experienced within the Society of Friends, nor would it be the last. Yet, it was one of the most damaging. It also set a precedent. The widespread division of Quakers indicated that separation, not compromise, had become the way to settle differences.[3] The Hicksite-Orthodox separation was the central event in the second-generation community of Yonge Street Friends. It fragmented the community and had a enduring influence on the relationship of Quakers with mainstream society.

Among Quaker historians the standard interpretation of the Hicksite-Orthodox separation of 1827-1828[4] has been that it was the "greatest tragedy of Quaker history."[5] More recent interpretations continue to echo this sentiment. For instance, H. Larry Ingle contends that "anytime well-intentioned believers fall out over relatively trivial differences in belief and tear apart long-standing friendships and even family relations, tragedy can only result."[6] Left to divide the spoils of land, meetinghouses, and schoolhouses, to lick their wounds and to rebuild their respective factions, American Quakers and Quakerism during this period have been viewed as a sad and sorry lot. This version of Hicksite-Orthodox schism has also been applied to Canadian history. Arthur Dorland, for example, concluded that the result of the 1828 schism in Canada was "a regrettable loss of vigour, efficiency, and usefulness all along the line."[7] In most cases, this separation has been interpreted as the beginning of the end for Quakerism in North America.

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[2] Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, Book No. 3, MS 303, Reel 48, C-3-100, 03-11-1828.

[3] Robert W. Doherty, *The Hicksite Separation: A Sociological Analysis of Religious Schism in Early Nineteenth Century America* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1967), 19.

[4] The separation first occurred in the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in the summer of 1827; the following year, in 1828, the New York Yearly Meeting, in which the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting was located, experienced a similar separation.

But was the separation the beginning of the end? From the point of view of the integrity of the Society as a single faith community, the division and upheaval can indeed be viewed as a very negative, if not the most negative, event of North American Quaker history. Yet, by integrating a gendered analysis and examining the separation from the context of the larger society, the turmoil and upheaval appear as more than just negative experiences which fragmented a faith community. From this point of view, the separation emerges as the initiation of the integration of Quakers into mainstream society. As Quakers moved away from sectarianism and became integrated into the "world," they did not lose their faith. They carried their unique values with them. These values formed the basis of their involvement in the political and social reform movements of the

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[5] Rufus M. Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism, volume 1* (London: Macmillan and Company, 1921; rpt. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1970, 1970), 435.
[6] H. Larry Ingle, *Quakers in Conflict: The Hicksite Reformation* (Knoxville, Tennessee: The University of Tennessee Press, 1986), xiii.
[7] Arthur G. Dorland, *The Quakers in Canada: A History* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1968), 155.

nineteenth century.[8] For women, especially, this became very important. Socialised and educated as they had been in a worldview which advocated for the equality of all believers, Quaker leaders, specifically women, were poised to take a leadership role in reforming their world and reshaping social relationships in more egalitarian ways.[9] Viewed in this larger context, the separation emerges as a painful but ultimately positive event.

Women in the Society of Friends were no strangers to doctrinal discord and factionalisation. As has already been shown, they played an active and pivotal role in the events which brought about the separation of the Children of Peace on Yonge Street. Preliminary work on the role of women in the American schisms also points to Quaker women as active participants in the turmoil that brought about the Hicksite-Orthodox separation and the schisms that followed.[10] This activity has been attributed to an example of "a historical moment when the disruption and decline of male authority was accompanied by the nurturance and expansion of women's power."[11] The active participation of women in religious agitation was not confined to Quakerism. It has been shown that periods of religious turmoil have provided women with greater opportunities to move into more active roles in the sects which offer personal, egalitarian, lay-dominated religion.[12] The nineteenth century witnessed another period of religious turbulence with the Christian evangelicalism of the Second Great Awakening. This was set against a backdrop of social upheaval.[13]

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[8] Both Orthodox and Hicksite women became involved in the social and moral reform movements of the mid-nineteenth century. They were especially active in those areas that were extensions of their religious concerns: abolitionism, the condition of natives, peace, and women's rights. In the area of women's rights, Quaker women in Canada, especially the Hicksite women, were influenced by their American sisters to the south. After the Hicksite-Orthodox separation, the Orthodox remained part of the New York Yearly Meeting and went on to form the Canada Yearly meeting of Friends which was established in 1867. The Hicksite Friends left the New York Yearly Meeting and, with other Hicksite Quakers, formed the Genessee Yearly Meeting. Canadian Hicksite Friends remained under the authority of this yearly meeting until 1955 when the Hicksite and Orthodox Friends in Canada were reunited. Influenced by their American sisters who were advocating for women's rights in the United States, the Hicksite women from the Bloomfield Meeting house sent a petition to the government in 1887 requesting the vote for women in federal elections. Arthur Dorland, *The Quakers in Canada: A History* (1927 rpt.; Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1968), 310.

[9] As has been shown elsewhere, it was often sectarian activism that drew women into reform movements and formed the basis of their political feminism in nineteenth century United States. See especially Nancy A. Hewitt, *Women's Activism and Social Change: Rochester, New York, 1822-1872* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1984). Part of Hewitt's work deals specifically with Quaker women who "combined the agrarian tradition of communalism and religious democracy to advocate for full racial and sexual equality." For a discussion of the activism of Quaker women specifically see Margaret Hope Bacon, *Mothers of Feminism: The Story of Quaker Women in America* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1986).

[10] Nancy A. Hewitt, "The Fragmentation of Friends: The Consequences for Women in Antebellum America," in Elisabeth Potts Brown and Susan Mosher Stuard, eds. *Witnesses for Change: Quaker Women of Three Centuries* (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1989), 93-108.

As religious revivalism "burned" across North America in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, other transformations were taking place.[14] Jacksonian democracy, the shift from an agrarian to a commercial economy, as well as the expansion of urbanisation and industrialisation all contributed to the development of a new society in the United States. In Upper Canada, the political fallout from the War of 1812, the Alien Question, and the arrival of large groups of ethnically and religiously diverse immigrants from the British Isles fuelled discontent. Religious groups responded to these social and religious changes.[15] The tensions of religious and social transformation were more than some groups could bear and denominational schisms became part of the religious landscape of the nineteenth century. The Quakers were not the only religious group to undergo damaging denominational schisms during this era. The Methodists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Baptists all split during the first half of the nineteenth century.

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[11] Ibid., 94.

[12] For instance, see Lyle Koehler, "The Weaker Sex and Religious Rebel," in Kathryn Kish Sklar and Thomas Dublin, eds. *Women and Power in American History: A Reader, Volume I to 1880* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1991), 24-36; Keith Thomas, "Women and the Civil War Sects," *Past and Present* 13(1958): 42-62; and, Sherin Marshall Wyntjes, "Women in the Reformation Era," in Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz, eds., *Becoming Visible: Women in European History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977), 165-181.

[13] Whether the religious revivalism of this period preceded or was a result of the concomitant social change is difficult to determine. This is somewhat akin to the "chicken-and-the-egg" question. William McLoughlin argues that religious "awakenings" in the United States have been associated with major periods of social shift in American culture and society. Although social change and religious revival are associated, McLoughlin does not attribute the awakenings to the social change per se but suggests they were the product of "critical disjunctions in [American] self understanding" brought about by social transformation. William G. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform: An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America, 1607-1977* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978).

[14] For use of the term "burned over" in the context of religious revivalism see Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1982).

The 1828 separation of Yonge Street Quakers was a result of and a response to external social and religious changes in both the transatlantic world and in Upper Canada specifically. Like they had in the 1812 schism, women stood on both sides of doctrinal divide. Between the separation of the Children of Peace and the Hicksite-Orthodox separation, women continued to work in their faith community, shaping and influencing the direction of the Society. As leaders in their respective communities, they were not only sensitive to the doctrinal differences that emerged about 1815 they often led the way in promoting one set of beliefs over another. The simmering doctrinal differences that slowly fractured the religious community cut to the heart of the Quaker faith identity. It also pushed Quaker women to consider their place in the Society of Friends and in the larger society in which they lived. As the crisis of doctrine and discipline in the Society became increasingly acute, Quakers caught in the middle of the conflict were aware that their faith community was falling apart. Suddenly, those outside the faith community who shared similar doctrine and offered support in troubled times were no longer viewed as spiritually menacing. In this way, battles of doctrine compelled Friends to address their potential role in a larger faith community that crossed denominational lines.

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[15] Examinations of the impact of the evangelical experience on specific denominations in Canada during this period include Marguerite Van Die, "'A March of Victory and Triumph in Praise of 'The Beauty of Holiness'": Laity and the Evangelical Impulse in Canadian Methodism, 1800-1884"; Duff Crerar, "'Crackling Sounds from the Burning Bush": The Evangelical Impulse in Canadian Presbyterianism before 1875"; and, Daniel C. Goodwin, "'The Footprints of Zion's King": Baptists in Canada to 1880" in G. A. Rawlyk, ed, *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 73-89, 123-136, and 191-207. Good general overviews of the transforming impact of the evangelical movement on British North American society are provided by Nancy Christie, "'In These Times of Democratic Rage and Delusion': Popular Religion and the Challenge to the Established Order, 1760-1815," and Michael Gauvreau, "Protestantism Transformed: Personal Piety and the

After the 1828 separation in Upper Canada, as frontier communities became more settled and contacts through school and business became more frequent, many Quakers found that their protective hedge of peculiar language and clothing was no longer a sufficient barrier against the external world. Surrounded by non-Quakers, the increased interactions Friends had outside their faith community led to a heightened desire to 'get along'. Quakers moved away from their earlier tendency to withdraw from mainstream society; they became less peculiar and began to appear more like other well-educated, evangelical Protestants.[16] As their faith community was torn apart, Friends sought affinity with those outside their religious community who shared similar social concerns.[17] Secure that their faith could be sustained by a process of socialisation through the meeting and informal education, young Quakers were prepare to reduce the symbolic markers that separated them from the world. In doing so they joined other Protestant

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Evangelical Social Vision, 1815-1867," in George A. Rawlyk, *The Canadian Protestant Experience, 1760-1990* (Burlington, Ontario: Welch Publishing Company Inc., 1990), 9-47 and 48-97.

[16] Orthodox Friends especially became very similar in their doctrine, if not in their worship style, to other evangelical groups of the day and moved easily into those circles. However, Hicksite women also worked more extensively with non-Quakers after the separation.

[17] This coincides with the period of revivalism that, as Neil Semple argues, was "characterized in a broader sense by a new interdenominationalism, or more accurately, antidenominationalism, at least among evangelical churches." Neil Semple, "The Quest for Kingdom: Aspects of Protestant Revivalism in Nineteenth-Century Ontario," in David Keane and Colin Read, eds., *Old Ontario: Essays in Honour of J.M.S. Careless* (Toronto: Dundrun Press, 1990), 95-112.

groups on a similar journey and became fully integrated into a larger faith community that defined life in mid-nineteenth century Ontario.[18]

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Where the separation of the Children of Peace was dominated by internal issues and individuals within the Yonge Street community, the Hicksite-Orthodox schism was influenced by external issues from outside the community. A number of social changes had taken place in both North America and England by the end of the eighteenth century that began to draw the transatlantic Society of Friends out of their Quietist stage, which had been defined by a withdrawal from mainstream society.[19] One of the most important influences in both Britain and North America was the rise of Christian evangelicalism which came to be associated, in this period, with a specific doctrine relating to the deity of Jesus Christ, the infallibility of the Bible, and the atonement of Christ's sacrifice for the sins of humankind. In addition to this wave of religious enthusiasm, there were perceptible shifts in attitudes and social organisation on both sides of the Atlantic. Enlightenment thought, the ideas of equality and liberty that came out of the American and French Revolutions, the move from an agrarian to a commercial economy, and the migration of large groups of people to the frontier all combined to create incredible social change. Quakers were not immune to these changes and they responded to them.

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[18] For a discussion of the Protestant consensus that emerged by the mid-nineteenth century, see John Webster Grant, *A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988).

[19] The Quietist stage in Quakerism lasted roughly from the late seventeenth to the late eighteenth century. It has been examined most thoroughly by Rufus M. Jones in *The Later Period of Quakerism, volume 1* (London: Macmillan and Company, 1921). The movement away from Quietism has been integral to interpretations of the Hicksite-Orthodox schism and is discussed in more detail in: Robert W. Doherty, *The Hicksite Separation: A Sociological Analysis of Religious Schism in Early Nineteenth Century America* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1967); David E.W. Holden, *Friends Divided: Conflict and Division in the Society of Friends* (Richmond, Indiana: Friends United Press, 1988); and, H. Larry Ingle, *Quakers in Conflict: The Hicksite Reformation* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1986).

During the Quietist period, the standard response to social change had been further withdrawal from mainstream society with the notion that Quakers would reform society through example. The "city on a hill" attitude of the Society of Friends had led to a reinforcement of the testimonies which insulated them from mainstream society. In this way, increasingly codified badges of behaviour, dress, and speech had served as a symbolic barrier between those who were and those who were not Friends. However, as Quakers, like other groups in North America, were forced to respond to the social changes of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, their reforming impulses shifted in focus. Reform by example became reform by activity.[20] This took place concurrently with deepening theological differences within Quakerism.

The rise of evangelicalism was met with a zealous increase in ministerial activity from both those who embraced orthodoxy and those who did not. The efforts to reshape the Society of Friends during this period set off the reforming impulses of Friends which were then applied to the larger society. Within the Society these reforming impulses bred deep divisions which eventually divided the Quakers into two factions. Unlike some of the earlier schisms, which were localised, the doctrinal disputes of the nineteenth century divided all but two of the North American yearly meetings.[21] Disagreement on the principles of ancient Quakerism involved Quaker women who, once again, took a leading role in establishing the lines of division between the groups. Their participation in the pamphleteering and ministerial visits that dominated the disputes greatly influenced the eventual outcome of the debates.

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[20] This, in itself, created problems within the Society. Not all Friends (especially the older generation) were in agreement with the marked increase of Quaker involvement in reform movements. For some Quakers active work in reform movements was the logical extension of Quaker principles. For others, mixing with non-Quakers was the road to ruin. These opposing attitudes would bring about even more schisms. For instance, in the 1840s, a group split away from the Indiana Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) to form the Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends. Hicksites would divide over the same issue into Progressive and Hicksite Quakers. See Chris Densmore, "The Fragmentation of North American Friends: Or, What J.J. Gurney Did When He Was Not at Home," *Canadian Quaker History Journal,* 62(1997): 5-12.

The rise of orthodoxy within Quakerism can be traced to the growth of evangelicalism in England. Although the sentiments would have been present earlier, the publication in 1805 of Henry Tuke's work, *The Principles of Religion, as professed by the Society of Christians usually called Quakers,* clearly marked the introduction of evangelical doctrines into Quaker books.[22] It also indicates the early acceptance of orthodoxy in the London Yearly Meeting. What made this work problematic to some Quakers in North America was the assumption, by the London Yearly Meeting, that all Friends endorsed its clear evangelical doctrines. This was especially the case since the work was published specifically for the purpose of educating Quaker children in the home and "for the information of strangers."[23]

Not everyone agreed with these doctrines. Whether they agreed or not, evangelical sentiments began to spread among North American Quakers, partly as a result of the work of the London Yearly Meeting and partly as a result of Quaker interactions with other evangelical Christians actively involved in the revivalism of the period. As orthodoxy increased, so did theological debate on the nature of Quakerism. What became consequential, however, was that by 1815 the majority of those who held

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[21] New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Indiana, and Ohio yearly meetings all split in 1827-1828. New England and North Carolina were Orthodox and did not separate.

[22] Larry Ingle notes that before the London Yearly Meeting published this particular work, other shorter pieces of Friends' writings had been published which "grafted evangelical doctrines onto Fox's unsystematic 'openings'." Ingle, *Quakers in Conflict*, 73. In terms of the disagreements that would eventually separate the Hicksite and Orthodox Friends on the issues of the divinity of Christ and the infallibility of the Bible, Tuke's work clearly articulated strong evangelical doctrines. Among Orthodox Friends, Tuke's book remained a pivotal work of Quaker writing and was frequently reprinted for the use of Orthodox Quakers.

positions of influence in the North American yearly meetings were committed to orthodoxy.[24] Interestingly, this coincides with the beginning of a period of heightened ministerial activity throughout the North American meetings. Quaker ministers on both sides of the conflict feverishly criss-crossed the North American meetings bearing witness to their own particular brand of Quakerism.

The burst of ministerial activity was fuelled in 1817 by a suggestion from the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting that a continental conference be formed to discuss a uniform Discipline. Open dissension ensued between two groups, which were not yet clearly defined. The Orthodox group was loosely united behind evangelical doctrine which emphasised belief rather than behaviour. The reforming group, which was still nameless, was united only by their opposition to the rising Orthodox group. It was in this environment that Elias Hicks, a minister from Long Island, appeared in the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1819 to deliver an address on slavery. At this time Hicks was already seventy-one years old and had his own set of firmly-entrenched beliefs about the nature of Quakerism. During his long ministry, he had travelled extensively throughout the North American meetings. Yet, when Hicks spoke in the men's business meeting in Philadelphia his words were calculated to irritate his audience. Hicks criticised the growth of "a worldly spirit" among Friends. He also denounced those who used the products of slave labour. By stressing the overriding importance of behaviour over belief, Hicks concluded his address by urging young Friends to follow their conscience,

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[23] Henry Tuke, *The Principles of Religion, as professed by the Society of Christians usually called Quakers; written for the instruction of their youth, and for the information of strangers* (1805, rpt. New York: New York Yearly Meeting of Friends, 1837).

[24] Doherty, *The Hicksite Separation*, 74-5. Doherty's conclusions are particularly aimed at the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, where the separation occurred first in 1827. Ingle comments on a similar circumstance in the New York Yearly Meeting. Ingle, *Quakers in Conflict*, 76.

even if this meant disobeying their elders. The male leadership of the Yearly Meeting was so offended by Hick's comments that they breached protocol and adjourned while Hicks was addressing the women's business meeting.[25] This departure from procedure would have been directly aimed as an insult to Hicks. He chose to overlook the insult by ignoring the authority of the leadership of the yearly meeting.

Hicks's appearance and address in the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting stirred the pot of religious controversy. It also pushed both sides to crystallise their beliefs. The Orthodox were the most influential leaders in the yearly meeting. After they recovered from their offence, they began to organise their religious views, which were focussed on doctrinal issues, in order to perpetuate their influence. As a result, the Orthodox became increasingly unified; they also viewed any criticism of their position as part of a Hicksite "conspiracy." Anyone who disagreed with the Orthodox was labelled a Hicksite, even though there was never a unified Hicksite party; nor did the "Hicksites" spread the ideas of Elias Hicks. Hicks was not the leader of the Hicksite movement. Rather his name was appropriated and applied to a disparate group that responded to the rise of evangelicalism within Quakerism. This was loose collection of Quakers who were united by their desire to preserve the sectarian characteristics of Friends. Religiously, the Hicksites were unified by their acceptance of a religion based on continual revelation of the Inner Light instead of specific doctrine determined by an external source. As much as the leadership of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting would have liked to disown Hicks for his 'heretical' beliefs in 1819, his membership in the New York Yearly Meeting meant he was 'untouchable.' Hicks used this to his advantage in 1822 when he again appeared in the

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[25] Doherty, *The Hicksite Separation*, 28-9.

Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. This time he was specifically accused of preaching false doctrine.

The nastiness of these disagreements was not confined to the business of the Philadelphia and New York yearly meetings. Orthodox and Hicksite Quakers began a fierce battle of pamphleteering and travelling which did nothing to soothe the growing dissension among Friends. In fact, these activities not only heightened dissension, they spread the discord throughout the North American meetings. In the same way that epidemics spread, the pamphlets and ministerial activity sowed the seeds of division into the most distant and remote North American meetings. To add fuel to the fire, a flock of English Friends who all supported the Orthodox visited in the 1820s. Larry Ingle has argued that "all hope for conciliation vanished" with the arrival of the English Friends. Endorsed as they were by the London Yearly Meeting, "premier center of world Quakerism," these ministers deepened rifts which might have been "muddled through… [with the] characteristic mantle of understatement and broad assertions of good will that had usually softened conflicts of doctrine and power in the past."[26] However, as destructive as these visits may have been to the faith community of Friends, they pushed North American Quakers into increased activity and tightened their connections to other denominational groups that shared similar doctrinal beliefs.

These increased opportunities for ministerial activity drew Quaker women into the doctrinal feuds. There they became pivotal in determining the direction of their respective factions in the Upper Canadian meetings and throughout the Society. As Yonge Street was one of the most remote meetings of the New York Yearly Meeting, the doctrinal disputes of the impending schism were brought into the community by the local representatives who travelled annually to the yearly meeting. The pamphlets they carried home with them as well as their own interpretation of events were quickly disseminated throughout Yonge Street. The ideas of discontent were then magnified by the travelling ministers from outside the community who visited regularly during this period. The Yonge Street women increased their own ministerial travel dramatically during this period. Margaret Bonnel, Margaret Brown, Phebe Widdifield, Martha Armitage, and Esther Doan were particularly active in travelling ministry during this period. As ministers, Margaret Bonnel and Margaret Brown were the most active, sometimes undertaking as many as four ministerial trips a year.[27] Although most of their travel was confined to Upper Canada, they also journeyed into New York, Vermont and Balitmore. Both Margaret Bonnel and Margaret Brown became Hicksites. With the exception of Martha Armitage, who also became a Hicksite, the other women all identified themselves as Orthodox. We have little in the way of personal writings from these women. But the minutes, as institutional as they are, give us a glimpse of the tension that would have accompanied all of these visits and provide an idea of the damaging rifts that formed in the community.

Each time a minister felt 'led' to make a ministerial trip, they brought their "concern" to the monthly meeting. For instance, in December 1822 "Margaret Bonnel

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[26] Ingle, *Quakers in Conflict*, 30.

[27] For instance, in an eighteen-month period from the beginning of 1822 to the fall of 1823 Margaret Bonnel visited all of the families in her own meeting, the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, the Pelham Monthly Meeting, the Norwich Monthly Meeting, the West Lake Monthly Meeting, and those in the "verge" of the Farmington Quarterly Meeting in Vermont. The level of activity by these two women, particularly, can be explained by their ministerial status. Margaret Bonnel was a recognised minister in the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting. Margaret Judge Brown came into the Yonge Street community in 1827 when she married Nicholas Brown, a recognised minister. Margaret Brown was also a recognised minister in the Alexandria Monthly Meeting, where she was a member before her marriage. Meeting politics at the height of the feud in 1827 prevented her from being formally recorded as a minister in the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting before the schism. She was quickly recorded as a minister in the Hicksite meeting after

spread before the meeting a prospect that has rested on her mind to pay a religious visit to the families of West Lake."[28] Oddly enough, the following month, just as Bonnel was preparing to depart, Esther Doan informed that she felt a similar prospect and declared she was willing to accompany Bonnel.[29] These women were at odds doctrinally, and Doan's willingness to accompany Bonnel would have been no accident. By travelling with Bonnel, Doan would have been able to monitor and counter Bonnel's arguments. In almost every case, with both men and women, a similar pattern emerges. Local ministers from one faction were inevitably accompanied by an elder or other important Friend from the other. Although we do not know how these women felt personally about the deepening divisions that were occurring within their faith community, their markedly increased involvement in ministerial activity is an indication of their concern and their eagerness to participate actively in the debates that would shape the future of the Society.

The journals and letters of the travelling women ministers who visited Yonge Street in these years give us a sense of the level of acrimony and the potential for division. One of the earlier visiting ministers was Phoebe Roberts, a minister from Pennsylvania. Roberts visited the Yonge Street meetings as part of a larger Upper Canadian tour in 1821-1822. Because she was from Pennsylvania, many of the Friends in the Yonge Street community were well known to Roberts. In fact, she commented frequently on seeing "beloved friends" and old school mates and often made specific notations about the connections of the Yonge Street Friends to Quakers in her own

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1828. Therefore, although she was not recorded, she was certainly recognised as a minister, at least by the Hicksites in the meeting.

[28] Yonge Street Monthly Meeting of Women Friends, 1818-1832, MS 303, C-3-111, Reel 49, 12-12-1822.

[29] Ibid., 16-01-1823.

community.[30] It was these connections that caused her to comment sadly on the "great trial" that had taken place when some of the Pennsylvanian Friends joined David Willson's Children of Peace. The doctrinal divisions that were prominent at the yearly meeting level at this point do not yet seem to have become predominant at Yonge Street. This can be attributed to the distance from New York to the wilds of Yonge Street in Upper Canada.

We know that in the eventual schism, Roberts clearly identified herself as Orthodox. Yet, when Nicholas Brown, who became one of the most ardent Hicksites in the Yonge Street community, accompanied her throughout her Upper Canadian visits, she remarked in her diary, "Nicholas Brown hath a precious gift of ministry."[31] As a compliment, one assumes this comment indicates friendliness between the two ministers. Moreover, while Roberts and Brown visited the home of Samuel Hughes, one of the leading members of the Children of Peace, they specifically discussed doctrine. After delivering their message, Hughes responded with a sermon that, according to Roberts, was "very incorrect …in respect to the Scriptures and religious matters." At that point Brown took it upon himself to "show him the way more perfectly, but [Hughes] told him it would not do for them to dwell upon that subject for they both knew too much." Before leaving "discouraged," Roberts took some consolation in the fact that, although Samuel Hughes disagreed with them, "his wife appeared loving and kind and … was sorry that his mind was so disturbed."[32] One would expect that Roberts and Brown would disagree with the doctrine defended by members of the Children of Peace.

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[30] For instance, one entry notes: "Susana [Pearson] accompanied us to William Philips this afternoon; he had lately lost his wife—his mother, a daughter of John Eaves of Fishing Creek, his wife a daughter of Levi Denner [Dennis]." "Phoebe Roberts' Diary," *Ontario History* 42, 1(1950): 19.

[31] Ibid., 23.

However, the fact that Roberts and Brown agreed on issues of doctrine in 1821 demonstrates that the community was not yet separated into factions.[33]

It was not until 1822, when the yearly meetings began their campaigns of pamphleteering and visitation that divisions in the Yonge Street community began to become visible.[34] However, while the external forces of division from the yearly meetings had not increased, the seeds of evangelicalism and greater interaction with non-Friends were certainly present in 1821. Roberts's journey through Upper Canada led to the "appointment" of a number of meetings in schools and Methodist meetinghouses. The closer links that were being formed with non-Quakers are evident in Roberts's diary entry following one of those meetings. She commented: "I have noticed that the meetings we have had out of Society are commonly the most favoured."[35] One especially large meeting was held in a "large upper room in a school house" in York. According to Roberts, the reason for the large crowd at the meeting was that "parliament [was] then sitting and the members thereof attended." Instead of being opposed to the Quaker

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[32] Ibid., 34.

[33] Following the separation, Samuel Hughes recorded his own version of Quaker doctrine in *A Vision concerning the desolation of Zion: The Fall of Religion among the Quakers, set forth in a similtude or vision of the mind particularly dedicated to the captives, or scattered tribes of that body, now commonly called Orthodox and Hicksites* (Toronto: D.H. Lawrence, Printer, 1835).

[34] This does not mean that doctrinal disputes or disagreements did not occur prior to 1822. We know for instance that Amos and Martha Armitage and Thomas and Martha Linville, the two sets of elders in the Yonge Street Preparative Meeting, had been at odds since 1812. That year the Armitages, who had been elders, had joined David Willson's Children of Peace. The Linvilles were appointed to replace the Armitages in their station as elders. The Linvilles were ardent supporters of orthodoxy. They continued to refuse the appeals of the Children of Peace for readmission to the Society. When accusations of adultery between David Willson and Rachel Lundy pressed the Armitages to "acknowledge" their error in 1816, they were accepted back into membership. Their reappointment as elders in 1819 set them in direct opposition to the Linvilles in the Select Meeting of Ministers and Elders and in the community as a whole. See Albert Schrauwers, "Consensus Seeking, Factionalization and Schism in the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting," in Albert Schrauwers, ed., *Faith, Friends and Fragmentation: Essays on Nineteenth Century Quakerism in Canada* (Toronto: Canadian Friends Historical Association, 1995), 83-7.

[35] "Phoebe Roberts' Diary," 23.

meeting, they "appeared very solid and much tendered and many of them came to us in a friendly manner and expressed great satisfaction."[36]

Shortly after Roberts left Upper Canada, the theological divisions in the Yonge Street community began to surface. This can be seen in the increased ministerial activity from the meetings own members. The differences, though, were exacerbated by the presence of strong visiting ministers, many of them women, who provided leadership and role models for both sides in the conflict. Although many women played a role in the larger North American conflict, the two women most active in the Upper Canadian division were Elisabeth Robson and Priscilla Cadwallader. Robson spoke for the Orthodox and Cadwallader for the Hicksites.[37]

In August of 1823, Cadwallader visited the Yonge Street meeting. Her presence there and the interests of doctrine had drawn a crowd; one of her companions noted that "a large collection of different denominations assembled" for the monthly meeting.[38] Following the meeting, Cadwallader and her companions accepted the hospitality of Nicholas Brown who, along with his second wife, Margaret Judge Brown, provided the initial focus for open dissent in the meeting.

Priscilla Cadwallader's visit and her influence on Nicholas Brown had an important impact on the deepening of tensions and the growth of a strong Hicksite faction in the Yonge Street meetings. Nicholas Brown did not become a Hicksite because of the ministry of Priscilla Cadwallader.[39] Her visit, however, helped crystallise Brown's sentiments on doctrine. Brown had not always been 'unorthodox' in his doctrinal stance. Recall the 1821 visit of Phoebe Roberts, an Orthodox supporter, and her comments on Brown's ministerial gift as well as their collaborative ministerial efforts in the Upper Canadian meetings.[40] Brown's position on doctrine in the Society of Friends shifted sometime after that visit. Certainly Brown's personal discussions with Cadwallader during her visit to Upper Canada intensified his own opinions on orthodoxy. Shortly after Cadwallader's visit, Brown began his open opposition to orthodox Friends in meetings for worship. In early 1824 he insulted a fellow member by taking a seat when "a friend was on his knees in supplication."[41] In all probability this supplicating Friend was fellow minister, John A. Haight, who was part of the Orthodox group.

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[36] Ibid., 34-5.

[37] At the time of her first visit to the Upper Canadian meetings in 1824-24, Priscilla Cadwallader was still Priscilla Hunt. She remarried around the time of the separation and became Priscilla Cadwallader. Her memoirs are published under the name of Priscilla Cadwallader. Therefore, in order to ease confusion, I will refer to her as Priscilla Cadwallader, even though she was Priscilla Hunt at the time of her first visit to Upper Canada.

[38] *Memoir of Pricsilla Cadwallader*, 2nd edition (Philadelphia: T. Ellwood Zell and Co., 1864), 40.

The religious tension created by Brown's actions in the worship meeting would have been compounded by the family connections between Brown and other members of the Pickering Preparative Meeting, where the Browns worshipped. At one point Brown and Haight had been brothers-in-law, by virtue of their marriage to Rogers sisters. Although Haight had remarried, following the death of his wife Mary Rogers in 1813, Brown was still closely connected to the Rogers clan through his marriage to Esther Rogers. Few of the Rogers supported the Hicksites.[42] We have no record of exactly where Esther Rogers Brown stood on the issue of doctrine. From the meeting minutes, it appears that she probably supported her husband's position. In 1825 she was accused of spreading "an evil report against a friend."[43] We do not know the content of this "report." However, the generally orthodox stance of the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting and the time frame in which the slander was delivered suggest that it was probably a derogatory comment directed at an orthodox Friend. That she was disciplined for the act and hastily informed the meeting of her intent to appeal the decision against her attests to her probable support of the Hicksite cause.[44] This would have set her in direct opposition to her brother Asa Rogers and to other prominent members from Vermont, who supported the Orthodox.[45]

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[39] Ibid.

[40] "Phoebe Roberts' Diary," *Ontario History* 42, 1(1950): passim.

[41] In March of 1824 Brown verbally acknowledged this "deviation," which would have taken place in a worship meeting. Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 1818-1828, MS 303, Reel 27, B-2-84, 12-03-1824.

[42] This information comes from the membership lists produced by the Hicksite and Orthodox meetings after the separation.

Esther Brown's involvement in spreading "evil reports" would have been an extension of the hive of Society activity taking place in the Brown household at the time. After Priscilla Cadwallader's visit in 1823, Nicholas Brown's interest in the business of the yearly meetings increased markedly. In 1824 he attended New York Yearly Meeting, stopping at Jericho Monthly Meeting on Long Island on his way.[46] Incidentally, Jericho Monthly Meeting was the home meeting of Elias Hicks. In December of 1825 Brown notified the monthly meeting that he felt led to attend the 1826 yearly meeting in Philadelphia.[47] And in 1826 he reported that he "believed it right for him to attend the Yearly Meeting at Baltimore" the following summer.[48] This final request came only three months after Esther Brown died of childbirth-related complications.[49] Perhaps it was at the Yearly Meeting that Brown met his future wife Margaret Judge. At any rate, as soon as he was clear to marry again, Nicholas Brown married Margaret Judge from Alexandria Monthly Meeting in New York State.[50]

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[43] Ibid., 12-05-1825.
[44] Ibid., 18-08-1825.
[45] Nicholas Brown was one of the few Vermonters who supported the Hicksites.
[46] Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 1818-1828, 15-04-1824.
[47] Ibid., 15-12-1825. Brown was accompanied on this journey by Amos Armitage, another strong Hicksite.
[48] Ibid., 14-09-1826.
[49] Nicholas and Esther Brown had a daughter born to them on June 16, 1826. Esther Brown died three days later. The infant daughter survived but died three-and-a-half months later.

Margaret Judge was the daughter of the prominent minister, Hugh Judge, one of the most outspoken supporters of the Hicksite cause in the New York Yearly Meeting. Together, Nicholas and Margaret Brown and her father Hugh Judge played a pivotal role in the separation in the New York Yearly Meeting.[51] Margaret Judge, a recognised minister in her own right, arrived in Upper Canada a year before the separation finally occurred there. Tensions, which were extremely high at this point, prevented her from being recorded as a minister in the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting. Despite these tensions and the added responsibilities of becoming a mother to her husband's five surviving children, Brown quickly became active in ministry within the meeting. The addition of another very active minister at this juncture added noticeably to the strains that threatened to fracture the kinship and faith connections within the meeting.

Priscilla Cadwallader's visit in the summer of 1823 seems to have strengthened the resolve of the Hicksite group and crystallised the factions in the Yonge Street meeting. By the time Elisabeth Robson, an Orthodox English Friend, arrived at the end of 1824, as part of her extended journey through the North American meetings, the Hicksites formed a small, but active "party." The factions and disagreements among the Yonge Street Quakers were strong enough in late 1824 that Robson noted that the monthly meeting at Yonge Street was "a time of great exercise." She was pleased, at least, that "in the women's meeting, they appeared to have some knowledge of the nature of our discipline."[52] Robson was particularly concerned about the situation in the Canadian meetings, especially in the Pickering Preparative Meeting where Nicholas Brown had emerged as the leader of a particularly strong Hicksite faction.[53] She was especially insistent in encouraging doctrinal unity. In addition to her extensive visit, her concern for Canadian Friends caused her to send personal epistles to both the Half Years Meeting and the Pickering Preparative Meeting in which she beseeched them to "dwell in love and true unity with each other."[54] Although these epistles give a sense of the authority with which Robson approached her spiritual tasks, as a highly-ranked English Friend, she also wrote a private letter to a Canadian Friend which indicated how much she personally felt she had invested in her ministry.[55] In this letter she commented that "it was no small sacrifice for [her] to make, to leave [her] native country and tenderly beloved connexious [sic] in life and come to this Land to visit … going from one meeting to another."[56] Having made the sacrifice, however, she felt completely entitled to comment on the spiritual health of both meetings and individuals. And in this, she did not hesitate to engage anyone who disagreed with her.

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[50] Brown remarried in July of 1827, thirteen months after his wife's death. According to the Discipline, at least one year had to pass between the death of a spouse and remarriage.

[51] Christopher Densmore and Albert Schrauwers eds., *"The Best Man for Settling New Country...": The Journal of Timothy Rogers* (Toronto: Canadian Friends Historical Association, 2000), 118, footnote 1.

Recognising that one of her greatest opponents was Priscilla Cadwallader, Elisabeth Robson engaged Cadwallader both in person and in writing. After hearing her speak, Robson wrote to Cadwallader and chastised her, not only for her beliefs, but for the manner in which they were delivered:

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[52] "Quaker Women's Diaries: The diaries of Elizabeth Robson, 1813-1843," (London: World Microfilms Publications), Reel 8, Volume 26, No. 154, 16-12-1824.
[53] At one point in her diary, Robson, who was obviously weary of her stay in Canada, wrote: "This long detention in Canada has been a close trial but I had a particular view towards it before I left home." Ibid., 19-12-1824. Therefore, even though she found the travelling circumstances particularly difficult, she remained as long as she felt necessary to carry on her ministry.
[54] Ibid., volume 5, No. 133. The epistle to the Pickering Preparative Meeting was written from Yonge Street on 29-12-1824. The Epistle of the Half Years Meeting was written from Norwich 21-01-1825.
[55] Judging from her diary entries and the content of the letter, this letter was penned to either Nicholas Brown or Peter Lossing, from Norwich Monthly Meeting in western Upper Canada. It was written in February of 1825, shortly after she left Upper Canada.
[56] Ibid., volume 5, No. 133., dated 07-02-1825.

> It has appeared to me that thy present state is a dangerous one, that for want of thy keeping in the low vally [sic] of humility there has been a sliding from the ancient foundation and suffering the imagination to go out into speculative ideas which lead from the Cross of Christ and that steadfastness in Him that is witnessed by abiding in nothingness of self. I believe there is not anything more injurious to the cause of religion than exerting the reasoning faculties in order to comprehend divine truths, thus a superficial edifice may be erected that may appear very plausible, and by which many may be deceived....[57]

Lest Cadwallader not be persuaded by this line of reasoning, Robson did not hesitate to remind her that in "Revelation chapter 22 verse 18th and 19th is described what is to be the portion of those who either add to or take from the words of the prophesy of that book."[58] Of course, Cadwallader was not swayed. Rather than overcoming their doctrinal differences, ministerial activity and appeals for unity only served to entrench and deepen the differences of both factions. The egalitarianism which both allowed and encouraged individual ministerial activity fanned the flames of discontent instead of overcoming them. This happened locally at Yonge Street as well as within the extended Society.

The Browns' ministerial efforts were especially successful in dividing the Pickering Preparative Meeting where they lived. That division especially bothered the settlement's founder, Timothy Rogers. By 1827, Rogers, who had established the settlements at both Yonge Street and Pickering, was seventy-one years old and nearing the end of his life. Although he "had a great gift from the Lord to settle new country," and had "settled eight new farms or plantations, [and] laid out one town,"[59] he had never succeeded in being recognised as a minister, an elder, an overseer or clerk. The fact that Rogers's religious exercises were never acknowledged bothered him. When he began his settlement at Pickering, Rogers had noted his own hopes for the future of the Society of Friends in Upper Canada: "[t]his place, although very new, is about the centre of Friends in Upper Canada. I believe in time [it] will produce a yearly meeting, within ten miles of this spot where I live on Duffin's Creek."[60] These hopes seemed to be crashing down around him in 1827 as he watched the meeting he had worked so hard to create be torn apart by recognised ministers, elders, overseers and clerks. When he reflected on his life during this tumultuous period, he appears dispirited and concerned that his efforts in the Upper Canadian meetings would be forgotten. The last entry of Rogers's journal is dated December 7, 1827. That day he "sat very still" with his wife and five children around him for a period of family worship.[61] It was during this time that he felt inclined to change the name of his youngest son, David Rogers. His reasons for doing so are telling: "I now add Timothy to signify my son, so that from this time, his name is David Timothy Rogers. And when his name is wrote – David T. Rogers. It may be understood David Rogers, son of Timothy Rogers, so that David's name and his father's is remembered."[62] Rogers's comments indicate that he was keenly aware that any claim to leadership in the community he might have had, based on his role as the man who pioneered the settlements, was precarious at best. He was even concerned that his name would be forgotten in the very communities he had established.[63] Local community dynamics added to the strain of doctrinal discord and deepened differences between Yonge Street Friends.

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[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.

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[59] Christopher Densmore and Albert Schrauwers, eds., "*The Best Man for Settling New County...*": *The Journal of Timothy Rogers* (Toronto: Canadian Friends Historical Association, 2000), 109. Hereafter referred to as *The Journal of Timothy Rogers*.

[60] Ibid., 111.

[61] These were the five children of his second wife, Anna Harned, whom he had married in October 1813.

[62] *The Journal of Timothy Rogers*, 118.

Doctrinal differences were exacerbated by other differences among North American Quakers, including those at Yonge Street. Class differences, urban-rural divisions, and issues of power in the yearly meetings all complicated theological arguments.[64] These differences percolated down to the local meetings and made overcoming differences in doctrine almost impossible. Moreover, in the context of Christian evangelicalism, the doctrinal disputes among Quakers encouraged them to seek external support. The North American Orthodox Quakers eagerly accepted the assistance of evangelical Friends from Britain.

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[63] At the time of Rogers's death in 1834, the meetings were still recovering from the fragmentation of the Society. Rogers did not live to see his dream fulfilled. Yet, in 1867, the newly-formed Canada Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) held its first yearly meeting in the meetinghouse a few miles from Timothy Rogers's home.

[64] These differences had been a matter of concern at the yearly meeting since about 1812 when distinctions between rural and urban Friends became more apparent. At the 1812 New York Yearly Meeting debate arose over the question of enforcing the testimony on plainness. Urban Friends, who were more likely to be involved in commerce and interacted more extensively with non-Quakers, wanted the testimony relaxed. Rural Friends, like Hicks, who eschewed acceptance of the ways of non-Quakers and their evangelical doctrines, wanted the testimony tightened. These issues were complicated by the exercise of power in the yearly meeting. Although oligarchies were not supposed to develop in Quaker meetings, they did at every level. The reason for their development at the yearly meeting was based in the transaction of yearly meeting business in the Meeting for Sufferings. This meeting played a similar role to the executive council in colonial Upper Canadian government. Decisions on expenditures, publications, changes to the Discipline and anything else of import to the yearly meeting were determined and implemented by the Meeting for Sufferings. This group was to have representation of elders and ministers from all of the meetings of the yearly meeting. However, the logistics of yearly-meeting business required the Meeting for Sufferings to meet throughout the year. Obviously, it was most expeditious if the representatives to the Meeting for Sufferings lived in proximity to the city of New York. Therefore, prominent urban elders and ministers (all men) held the most powerful positions in the yearly meeting. The situation in the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting was exactly the same. Because these elders lived in the city and saw each other almost every day as a result of their shared interest in religious and business affairs, they became a closely-knit body that exercised great power. They were accustomed to having their way in meetings at all levels because the Meeting for Sufferings defined the issues that Friends would consider. Over the years leading up to the separation, rural Friends developed a pervasive distrust of the city and the wealthy Friends who congregated there and increasingly exercised more power in the yearly meeting. See Hugh Barbour et. al., *Quaker Crosscurrents: Three Hundred Years of Friends in the New York Yearly Meeting* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995), 100-30; Verna Marie Cavey, "Fighting Among Friends: The Quaker Separation of 1827 as a Study in conflict Resolution," (PhD diss.: Syracuse University, 1992), 50-7; David E.W. Holden, *Friends Divided: Conflict and Division in the Society of Friends* (Richmond, Indiana: Friends United Press, 1988), 51-67; and, Larry Ingle, *Quakers in Conflict*, 16-60.

Evangelical British Friends, who travelled with the full authority of the London Yearly Meeting, fully intended to change what they saw as the errant beliefs of the Hicksite Friends. Their attendance at meetings throughout North America did nothing to soothe troubled waters. In fact, their public acclaim created a defensiveness among the Hicksites and resulted in brutally long and fractious meetings which destroyed hopes of unity. This was the case in 1827 when Thomas Shillitoe, a prominent English minister, recorded a particularly nasty clash between the Hicksites and Orthodox which took place at Yonge Street:

> Fifth Day, we attended the Monthly Meeting at Yonge Street; the meeting for worship was largely attended; many of other societies gave us their company. Early in the meeting I rose on my feet and delivered that which I believed was the word of the Lord to the people. After I sat down an acknowledged minister [probably Nicholas Brown], who stood high with a party in the meeting, arose declaring that our supposing Adam's transgression had in any way affected his posterity was an absurd thing, and to suppose the coming of Christ in the flesh was to redeem mankind from sin, was equally absurd. Never before having heard such a manifest public avowal of these anti-Christian principles, which were so evidently making their way in the minds of many of our society in this half-year's meeting, I was brought into a trying situation; but feeling I must not suffer the meeting to close without endeavouring, as help should be offered me, to maintain the ground I had taken in the opening of the meeting (and yet consequences were to be feared from the strong party the individual had in the meeting), I stood upon my feet.... In propagating these anti-Christian principles, a party spirit had so spread in the minds of some of the members of this meeting, and such opposition was manifested to the conducting the discipline in the true spirit of it, that the meeting sat from eleven in the a.m. until near six in the evening before it closed.[65]

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[65] *Journal of Thomas Shillitoe*, 2 volumes, (London, 1839), 209. Shillatoe visited the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting in early 1827.

Ironically, the answers to the queries that year recorded only that "Love and Unity [were] not so fully maintained as is desired."[66] Considering the hostility in the meeting, this was quite an understatement.

In addition to the support travelling ministers offered to each faction in local meetings, the public meetings held wherever ministers travelled educated non-Quakers on the disputes within the Society of Friends. Orthodox Quakers also instructed their neighbours on the finer points of their internal quarrels with the aid of the pamphlets published by the Meeting for Sufferings. Friends on Yonge Street took their differences into the haven of colonial political disputes—the tavern. This is what happened after Thomas Linville attended the New York Yearly Meeting in 1828. Following the split that had occurred at the yearly meeting, Thomas Linville returned to Yonge Street armed with "a considerable number of pamphlets." To the disgust of the Hicksites, Linville, "and his adherents busily circulated [the pamphlets] among all classes—propagating scandal in taverns, by having them read at public gatherings, raisings, &c."[67] This, they felt, accounted "for the particular excitement of people in these parts, who are not of our profession."[68] Because of their doctrinal similarity to other evangelical groups like the Methodists and Presbyterians, the Orthodox were in a position to gain considerable support from those outside their immediate faith community. They did not hesitate to call on this support in the nasty conflicts that ensued. For instance, the issue of ownership of the meetinghouse was disputed at the end of one particularly fractious meeting. At this time, according to the Hicksites:

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[66] Yonge Street Monthly Meeting of Women Friends, 1818-1832, MS 303, Reel 49, C-3-11, 18-10-1827.
[67] "Extract from Letter written by Amos Armitage and John Watson," *The Friend; or Advocate of Truth, for the year 1829* (Philadelphia: MTC Gould, 1829), 25.
[68] Ibid.

> Many people, not members, were present, some of whom were taken in at the windows; their minds were much excited, in consequence of the publications which had been circulated. Violence was anticipated from the ruder part, as many, both orthodox young men and strangers, were prepared with clubs, expressing their intention of turning out the Hicksites, and kicking them when out. The house near the door was so crowded, principally by those not members, that the floor gave way.[69]

Because they were the majority, the Orthodox retained control of the meetinghouse.[70] It was not without some derision that the Hicksites noted that "a few female members of society" were present in the melee.

As soon as they were able to hold regular meetings, the Hicksites responded by disowning several members. Hicksite women took a leadership role in this. By October of 1828, Martha Linville and Phebe Widdifield were declared to "have lost their usefulness" as members of the Select Meeting of Ministers and Elders.[71] A long list of other women were also disowned by the Hicksites for "setting up and holding meetings contrary to discipline."[72] The fact that a number of these women were also charged with "defaming the character" of their neighbours indicates the level of acrimony between the two groups. Shortly after these first disownments by the women's meeting, both the Hicksite and Orthodox meetings busily disowned each other. It took a number of months for both groups to settle back into regular meeting activity.

The Hicksite-Orthodox schism stands out as a turning point in the organisation of the Society of Friends. It was also a turning point in the second generation of the Yonge

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[69] Ibid., 28.

[70] The Hicksites built another meetinghouse just south of the original one on land donated by Amos Armitage.

[71] Yonge Street Monthly Meeting of Women Friends, 1818-1832, 14-10-1828.

[72] Among the first Orthodox women disowned by the Hicksites were: Anna Rogers, Mary Pearson, Esther Doan, Elizabeth North, Olive Rogers, and Eunice Huff. All were active Friends. Miscellaneous Papers Relating to Yonge Street, MS 303, Reel 54, D-1-21, 12-03-1829 and 14-05-1829; Yonge Street Monthly Meeting of Women Friends, 1818-1832, 13-11-1828 and 18-12-1828.

Street community. Unlike the smaller localised schisms of the earlier years, this widespread division of Quakers indicated that separation, not compromise, had become the way to settle differences.[73] The widespread realisation among Quakers that they could reform their own faith community, even if it meant breaking it apart, led to an increased awareness that they could shape the larger society in which they lived. The 'city-on-a-hill' approach to reform shifted to a 'salt-of-the-earth' approach. With their own community torn apart and aware of their doctrinal similarities with other religious groups, Quakers were more prepared to dismantle the protective hedge they had constructed around themselves to create links with members of the larger society. Slavery, temperance, native education, women's rights, and local political issues became issues that could be addressed in conjunction with other groups who shared concerns on similar issues. The activism of reshaping the Society of Friends was refocused into an activism that sought to reform society. And, although the schisms have been viewed as the greatest tragedy of Quaker history, they opened up a door for Quaker women especially to move from shaping their communities to shaping their world.

There is no doubt that Quaker women, as well as Quaker men, were saddened by the separation within the Society. Elisabeth Robson, one of the chief contributors to the final split, commented that "the unity of the bretheren [sic] is a very precious thing and I esteem it a great Blessing."[74] It was the precious, personal, and egalitarian nature of their faith that drove women into the divisive disputes that splintered their community apart. It was more important for them to express their ideas, even if they caused dissension, than it was for them to remain silent for the sake of unity. Based as they were in conflicting interpretations of ancient Quakerism, the divisions that led up to this separation and the separations that followed were too personal for Friends to ignore. By taking sides, they risked relationships with friends, family and neighbours who formed the closest links in their faith community. From a personal point of view, the cost of these schisms to the faith community was high. However, from a social point of view, the benefits to the larger society were great. Decreased sectarianism and the movement of Quakers into mainstream society opened the door for their involvement in mainstream reform movements. This had long term consequences for all Upper Canadians.

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[73] Doherty, *The Hicksite Separation*, 19.

Through their involvement in the meeting structure and the business of the meeting, Friends were well versed in the process of assessing community issues and conveying their opinions on those issues they considered important. As Friends became involved in the larger faith and geographic community, they were quick to apply their values and their expectations to those environments. Friends began to challenge the government on issues they viewed as unfair or that contravened their testimonies. High on their list were the Clergy Reserves and military fines. Because the Clergy Reserves were a political hot potato for many other groups in the colony, Quakers joined non-Quakers in challenging the state support of the Church of England. Reform sentiment among Yonge Street Friends was high as is evidenced by their increased involvement in politics and their role in the Rebellion of 1837.

Those Quakers who played an active role in taking up arms against the government in the Rebellion were usually young men whose parents supported reform, not insurrection. Their willingness to take up arms or support the cause on such a wide

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[74] "Quaker Women's Diaries: The diaries of Elisabeth Robson, 1813-1843," Volume 26, No. 154, 27-07-1828.

level demonstrates the extent of their frustration with the provincial government.[75] Their frustration is an indication of their integration into Upper Canadian society and their insistence on their right to shape the geographic community in which they lived. The generation of Quakers who came of age at the end of the second-generation Yonge Street community began to think of themselves as Upper Canadians who were also Quakers. The support imprisoned Quakers received from other Upper Canadians reveals similar attitudes among the mixed group of Reformers who were also aggravated by the inefficiency and ineffectiveness of colonial government in the 1830s. The colony was deeply divided. The political and social divisions in the geographic community were similar to the religious division experienced by Friends in their faith community. No longer insulated from the larger society, Friends were pushed to address another aspect of their identity as they dealt with the repercussions of the Rebellion.

Models of strong female leadership in the Yonge Street meeting influenced the way women responded to the arrests of their husbands and sons who were involved in the uprising. Drawing from their experience in community government, they used various avenues of appeal to assist their loved ones. Most notable for the public attention she received was Elizabeth Lount whose husband, Samuel Lount, was executed in April 1838.

Samuel Lount, who hailed from Holland Landing just north of the Yonge Street settlement, had been a Member of the Assembly. He was hanged in York after being convicted of treason for his part in the Rebellion of 1837. After Lount was arrested,

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[75] Tom Socknat concludes that although Quakers formed 4.2 percent of the population in rebel areas, they comprised 40 percent of known rebels and supporters. Tom Socknat, talk given to the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Friends Historical Association 1984, *The Tillsonburg News* (November 9, 1984): 9, rpt. *Canadian Quaker History Newsletter* 36(1984).

Elizabeth Lount attempted to access all avenues of appeal to free him. According to her memory of events, Lount followed her husband to York subsequent to his arrest.[76] After arriving in York, Elizabeth Lount went to the Governor requesting permission to visit her husband. The request was denied and the Governor told Lount that her husband "looked well." According to Lount, this was not the case. When she finally obtained a pass from a Captain Fuller which allowed her to visit her husband, she says she found him "a shadow, pale and debilitated." When Lount discovered that Chief Justice John Beverly Robinson had sentenced Samuel Lount and Peter Matthews to execution by hanging, Elizabeth Lount and another woman from York went again to visit the Governor. The women pleaded with the Governor to extend mercy to the men, presenting a petition signed by thirty-five thousand Upper Canadians supporting the request for clemency. Lount claimed she also knelt before Governor Arthur and begged for her husband's life for the sake of his wife and children. The Governor refused to capitulate and Elizabeth Lount concluded that "neither prayer nor petitions could subdue the hard heart of the Governor."

After the execution the Governor refused to turn the bodies of Samuel Lount and Peter Matthews over to their families, afraid, Lount surmised, that "the generous sympathies of a noble people, who have been too long ruled by threats, might rise, and in retributive justice fall with tenfold force upon himself and those who were his chief advisers." Following her husband's death, Elizabeth Lount felt compelled to leave Upper Canada with her seven children. She returned to the United States. Even from the United States, however, Lount used a final act of recourse and wrote a stinging open letter to

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[76] Elizabeth Lount's recollection of events was published as an "Open Letter to John Beverly Robinson, Chief Justice of Upper Canada," *Pontiac, Michigan Herald*, June 12, 1838.

John Beverly Robinson, the man who had condemned her husband to hang. The letter, published in the Pontiac, Michigan *Herald* would have certainly made its way back to Upper Canada for residents of that province to read.[77] In fact, this was Lount's objective. The letter would also have encouraged active discussion about the politics of Upper Canada. Lount's language is not the language of a petitioner. Through her letter, Elizabeth Lount addressed John Beverly Robinson as an equal; this was a direct result of her socialisation in the Quaker community. Lount was not at all cautious, calling Governor Arthur a "coward and a tyrant" for refusing "a defenceless woman the corpse of her murdered husband." About Robinson, Lount was equally scathing. She called upon her significant rhetorical skills in her assessment of the state of Upper Canadian politics:

> But, sir, all is not over yet. No government whose only acts are those of violence and cruelty, whose statute book is stained with the book of innocent sufferers, and whose land is watered by the tears of widows and orphans, can long stand contiguous to a nation abounding in free institutions. O Canada, my own country, from which I am now exiled by a party whose mercy is worse than death—I love thee still. ... I do not write to excite your sympathy, for that I neither respect or covet. I write that Canada may know her children will not silently submit to the most egregious outrages upon private property, and even life itself. ... Sir, the officers of the government of Canada, civil and military, are placed over the people without their consent. They form a combination too powerful for the prayers of an humble citizen to move. Be their acts however corrupt, the law is by themselves administered, and consequently they are beyond its reach; while if the private citizen offend he is neither safe in his property or person. If these things are so, I ask you, sir, how long will the people of Canada tamely submit? Will they not soon rise in their strength, as one man, and burst asunder the chains that bind them to the earth and revolutionize and disenthrall Canada from the grasp of tyrants?[78]

Lount's stinging appraisal of Robinson and his cronies who were in control of Upper Canadian politics probably had little impact on them. However, it no doubt went a long way to reinforce Reform sentiments within the Yonge Street Friends' community where the Lount families were well-respected. Although there is no evidence that the letter was circulated among Friends, it was certainly Lount's objective for it to circulate not only among Friends but throughout mainstream society as well. We do not know how the community or the meeting felt about Samuel Lount's involvement in the Rebellion. Strict Friends continued to maintain a dogmatic line on the peace testimony and many Friends were dealt with in the monthly meetings for their involvement in the uprising.

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[77] Samuel Lount's brother, George Lount, and his family remained as members of the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting. Elizabeth Lount could easily have sent a copy of the letter to him for dispersal among Friends.

Elizabeth's Lount's effort to shape the community and country in which she had lived was built on a long legacy of Quaker women's activities in the Quaker faith community. Quaker women were accustomed to having their views considered. As they became integrated into a larger Upper Canadian faith community, they continued to assume that they would be active participants in shaping that world. Even though their community had been fragmented, Quakers did not lose their faith. It was a faith that remained based in the spiritual equality of all believers. This had especially important consequences for women. As Quaker women actively engaged debates over doctrine, they stood their ground and kept their faith. The expectation that they would be involved in shaping their world was based in the dictates of that faith. Not only was it their right; they felt it was their responsibility. It was a responsibility they took seriously as they engaged the society around them.

The Hicksite-Orthodox separation was the major event in North American Quakerism in the nineteenth century. It was absolutely pivotal in the Yonge Street community of Friends. The fragmentation of the society broke apart the carefully woven ties of family and faith that had been established in the first-generation community. With

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[78] Ibid.

their faith community split into three different groups, the Hicksite, Orthodox, and Children of Peace, Yonge Street Friends were pressed to reflect on their relationship with their geographic community. As they formed links with those who shared their doctrinal beliefs or their social concerns, their lives became more closely connected to the larger social and faith community of Upper Canada. The involvement of Quakers in the political reform movements of the 1830s and beyond was based on the intrinsic values of Quakerism which Friends continued to uphold. By the third generation of the Yonge Street community, Quakers had become Upper Canadians who felt entitled to a voice in the governance of their geographic community. Their involvement in the 1840s and later in various reform-minded activities like temperance, abolition, prison reform, pacifism, and women's rights was partially the result of the fragmentation of Friends. As Quakers crossed denominational lines, they provided leadership, people power, and ideas for the reform movements that would have an enduring impact on Canadian society. Therefore, although the division of Friends was painful for the faith community, it was ultimately positive for the larger society and, particularly, for women.

The faith community of Yonge Street Quakers was broken in the second generation, but it was not destroyed. Although aspects of the faith that had kept the Society insulated and separate in the first generation were relaxed, a religious heritage of equality, peace and simplicity that had survived many generations was too vital to be dismantled by disputes over doctrine. Informal education and socialisation kept the principles of Quakerism strong. Even the integration of children into non-Quaker formal schooling could not destroy them.

Chapter Eight
A Religiously Guarded Education: Schooling in the Yonge Street Community

The schooling of children in the Yonge Street Friends community was much like that in other pioneer communities in Upper Canada.[1] It was very much a family affair.[2] In very young pioneer settlements, formal instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic was generally provided either by parents to their own offspring or by masters and mistresses to their apprentices and servants. As settlements grew neighbouring children usually gathered together in one home to practice their lessons. Eventually, a group of parents would band together and construct a schoolhouse. Then they would hire a teacher to instruct their children. Decisions about schooling in the early years were very much in the hands of parents who remained in charge of their children's education and determined where and when they would attend.[3]

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[1] The concern for the schooling of Quaker children in the environment of Quakerism was central to the outlook of the Society of Friends as a whole. The principles of Quaker education began in Quakerism itself. The equality of all believers, the role of the Inner Light, and the testimonies of the Discipline were all reflected in Quaker schooling. In this way, then, although the formal schooling of Quakers was very similar in form to that of non-Quakers, it was significantly different in content.

[2] Susan E. Houston and Alison Prentice, *Schooling and Scholars in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 21.

[3] Ibid., 31-2. Government intervention in schooling remained minimal. In 1807, the Education Act provided for the establishment of grammar schools. But these schools were not for average Upper Canadians; they were the domain of the wealthy and those with connections to the colonial governing class. In response to the wishes of the Upper Canadian public, the Assembly finally approved a Common School Bill in 1816, which provided for state-supported common schools throughout the province. Although these schools were government funded, they were less generously supported than the district grammar schools. In was not until the 1840s that the public campaigns of the school 'promoters' and school 'reformers' were successful in creating a "provincial *system* of schools; one that could be controlled, much more firmly than had previously been the case, from the centre." The various school acts of the 1840s, in 1841, 1843, 1846, and 1847, which legislated both attendance and curriculum were based in a common understanding that a public school system was an essential agent in creating useful and loyal Upper Canadians. Quote, Houston and Prentice, *Schooling and Scholars*, 98. See also, Bruce Curtis, "Preconditions of the Canadian State: Educational Reform and the Construction of a Public in Upper Canada, 1837-1846," *Studies in Political Economy*, 10(1983): 99-121; Bruce Curtis, "Schoolbooks and the Myth of Curricular Republicanism: The State and the Curriculum in Canada West, 1820-1850," *Histoire Sociale-Social History* 16, 32(1983): 305-29; Bruce Curtis, *Building the Educational State: Canada West, 1836-1871* (London, Ontario: Falmer Press and Althouse Press, 1988); R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar, "From Voluntarism to State Schooling: The Creation of the Public School System in Ontario," *Canadian*

From the beginning of Quakerism, a "religiously guarded" education was important to maintaining the peculiarity of the faith. In establishing and building a strong fellowship of Friends on Yonge Street, Quakers consciously provided formal instruction to Quaker children as a means of retaining an insulated and separated community. Teaching through schools and apprenticeship provided structured opportunities for training Quaker children in the distinct aspects of their faith. As soon as possible, apprenticeships were monitored and a school was appointed. Both women and men viewed a formal Quaker education as fundamental to maintaining a separate and distinct faith community. Even when publicly-funded common schools were available to Friends in 1816, they continued to insist on separate Quaker schools for their children. But, when the school closed as a result of the Hicksite-Orthodox separation in 1828, Friends were forced to send their children to the state-funded local common schools.

The provision of a government-funded education system has been viewed as a victory of democracy.[4] For Quakers, however, the movement to a state-controlled curriculum battered the hedge of protection that they had so carefully erected around themselves. When Quaker children began to attend common schools, they were exposed

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Historical Review 66, 4(1985): 443-471; Neil McDonald, "Egerton Ryerson and the School as an Agent of Political Socialization," in Neil McDonald and Alf Chaiton, eds., *Egerton Ryerson and His Times* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1978), 81-106; Alison Prentice, *The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), ch. 1; and, Harry Smaller, "Teachers and Schools in Early Ontario," *Ontario History* 85, 4(1993): 291-307. Government-funded education brought with it the concomitant transfer of control over schooling from families to the state. But, Chad Gaffield has demonstrated that centralised and state-controlled in the years after 1840 did not necessarily mean that families lost control of schooling their children. In fact, he argues that increased school attendance in mid-nineteenth-century Upper Canada was a result of family changing strategies which were designed to "prevent downward social mobility for the children of well-established families and to permit the attainment of basic security for the children of materially disadvantaged families." Chad Gaffield, "Children, Schooling and Family Reproduction in Nineteenth-Century Ontario," *Canadian Historical Review* 72, 2(1991): 186

[4] Adams, *The Education of Canadians, 1800-1867* (Montreal: Harvest House, 1968), 111.

to non-Quakers and carefully selected textbooks,[5] carrying messages aimed to produce good citizens. This wore down the barriers that separated Friends from the world.[6] Both the Hicksites and Orthodox were determined, nonetheless, to retain some control of the faith education of their children. While schooling became more important for achieving economic independence in Upper Canadian society, informal education and socialisation became the primary defence of the faith. It was a defence that withstood the integration of Friends into mainstream society and kept the principles of the faith effective, even as the community was fragmented.

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The formal aspects of Quaker education included both apprenticeship and schooling. Apprenticeship was relatively straightforward. The Discipline clearly stated that for the purposes of apprenticeship children who were members of the Society of Friends were only to be placed with Friends, unless no suitable place was available. The lack of suitable placements was more likely to occur in frontier areas like Upper Canada where settlement was more sparse. In these cases, the parent or guardian of the youngster approached the monthly meeting so that a committee could provide assistance in placing the child appropriately. Apprenticeships with non-Friends were only considered appropriate "if a place can be found where the child may be educated agreeably to [the] profession [of Friends]."[7] Placing children in the home of non-Quakers was equated with endangering their spiritual livelihood, since it would expose them to the corrupt manners of the world. The meeting monitored such situations particularly closely.

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[5] Bruce Curtis, "Schoolbooks and the Myth of Curricular Republicanism,"329, concludes that by 1846 the schoolbook had transformed into "an increasingly specialized and technical instrument" of state-controlled education.

[6] This is most obvious in changing patterns of dress and speech among Friends. By the middle of the nineteenth century, it was difficult to differentiate Friends from non-Quakers on the basis of their clothing and patterns of speech alone. This does not mean that all Quakers eschewed the testimony on plainness. The older generation of Friends continued to insist on maintaining these behavioural codes. There were also small groups who became increasingly sectarian and remained peculiar. However, although plain speech and dress continued to be the custom in the meeting, Quakers moved away from the practice in their interactions with non-Quakers. For instance, one young Quaker woman from the Yonge Street community remembers the preparations required when she left, in 1844, to attend the Quaker boarding school located near Adolphustown. The school had strict regulations regarding apparel and Harriet Pearson recollected that she and her friend, Esther Rogers, had to spend a week in Kingston enroute to the school in order to obtain appropriate apparel. Neither "had the plain bonnet that all girls must wear if they attended the boarding school." The fact that the bonnets could not be obtained in Newmarket indicates that few young Quaker women were wearing the distinctive bonnet by mid-century. "Reminiscences of Harriett (Pearson) MacCracken of Newmarket (aged 80 years)," *Canadian Friend* 1, 3(1905): 6.

The level of interest that the Yonge Street meeting maintained in the placement of children is demonstrated in the "care" under which Timothy and Anna Rogers were placed when they took their daughter, Martha, to Virginia in the summer of 1830. The Rogerses had received the appropriate travel documents before they left for Virginia to visit Timothy Rogers Jr..[8] When the family returned to Yonge Street in the late spring of 1831 without Martha, Timothy and Anna Rogers were quickly placed under meeting discipline for leaving their daughter, "under the care of his son Timothy Rogers, a slaveholder." What concerned the meeting was Timothy and Anna Rogers's "cause and motives for leaving their said Daughter in such a situation."[9] When it was revealed the following month that "she was detained without their consent and entirely against their wills," the meeting was satisfied that Martha Rogers had not deliberately been left in a spiritually treacherous situation.[10] The matter was not dropped. This virtual kidnapping was dealt with by engaging the services of the Mouth River Monthly Meeting in Virginia.

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[7] *Discipline of the Yearly Meeting of Friends, Held in New York, For the State of New York, and Parts Adjacent: As revised and adopted, in the sixth month,, 1810* (New York: Collins and Perkins, 1810), 100. Hereafter referred to as *Discipline of the New York Yearly Meeting, 1810*.

[8] Yonge Street Preparative Meeting of Ministers and Elders, 1828-1835, MS 303, Reel 26, B-2-78, 17-06-1830 and 15-07-1830. This minute book became the minute book of the monthly meeting after the separation in 1828. Requests to travel did not have to be submitted to the Select Meeting of Ministers and Elders. The minutes indicate that two of Timothy and Anna Rogers's minor children travelled with them: John W. Rogers and Martha Rogers.

[9] Ibid., 18-08-1831.

[10] Ibid., 15-09-1831.

Unable to secure Martha Rogers's return, her parents requested that her membership be transferred to the nearest Friends meeting in Virginia.[11] They at least were close enough to visit Martha and take her under their "care." Although not an apprenticeship, this situation indicates the level of concern that accompanied the placement of children in the homes of non-Quakers.

Because apprenticeships were used to train children in a specific trade or business, they applied only to male children. Female children were raised with the expectation that they would marry; most, in fact, did. Those who did not remained in their parents' home or moved into the home of a sibling. Although they may have worked in the family business or contributed to the family farm, they were not involved in formal apprenticeships. The roles of schoolmistress or midwife did not require a formal apprenticeship in the way that traditional male employments such as joiner or blacksmith did. However, Quaker girls were provided with a sufficient formal education to allow them to transact the business of the meeting.[12] It was expected in Quaker communities that everyone, even the poorest members, were at least to have acquired the rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic.

Formal schooling for Quaker children had been important in the Society since George Fox opened the first boys and girls schools in England in 1668. By virtue of their faith, Quakers had been denied entry to universities. In response, Friends had developed formal education to fit their particular needs. A Quaker education was to be a practical education in "whatever things were civil and useful in creation."[13] It was to prepare children to make a living and to equip them with the necessary skills to ensure that meetings could continue to run smoothly. However, a Quaker education was also to be a "guarded education."[14] Concerned that their children would learn the corrupt manners, fashions, and language of mainstream society, this group of peculiar people urged their meetings to establish schools for the express purpose of educating children in the manners, fashions, and language of Friends. In addition to the practical aspects of reading, writing and ciphering, this was a religious education designed to instruct children in the Quaker faith.[15]

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[11] Ibid., 12-01-1832.

[12] The formal education of Quaker girls focussed on the practical arts of reading, writing, and ciphering. This differed a great deal from the education provided to the daughters of the middle and upper classes in the colony's ladies academies. See, Jane Errington, "Ladies and Schoolmistresses: Educating Women in Early Nineteenth-Century Upper Canada," *Historical Studies in Education* 6, 1(1994): 71-96.

According to Friends, the goals of a religiously-guarded Quaker education were community, harmony, equality, and simplicity.[16] These goals were accomplished in a number of ways. In addition to using Quaker books and studying scripture, Quaker schools relied heavily on corporate Quaker worship as part of the school-day experience. Distinct periods throughout the school day were devoted to complete silence and worship.[17] This allowed children to learn that the specific style of Quaker worship applied outside the worship meeting. In addition, visiting ministers, who were often the best speakers among Friends, were invited to speak at the schools located in the meetings they were visiting. This gave ministers an opportunity to speak directly to the youth of the meeting. Finally, schools used catechisms as a device for teaching Quaker principles.[18] This created opportunities for repetitive lessons which encouraged memorisation of beliefs specific to the Quaker faith.

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[13] George Fox quoted in G. Helen Hole, *Things Civil and Useful: A Personal View of Quaker Education* (Richmond, Indiana: Friends United Press, 1978), 5.

[14] The work of William Kashatus on Quaker education demonstrates the perceptible shift in Friends' education in the nineteenth century from a more sectarian "guarded" education to a more reform-minded interdenominational education offered to the poor or underprivileged from outside the Society. See William C. Kashatus, "A Reappraisal of Anthony Benezet's Activities in Educational Reform, 1754-1784," *Quaker History* 78, 1(Spring 1989): 24-36; *A Virtuous Education: Penn's Vision for Philadelphia Schools* (Wallingford, Pennsylvania: Pendle Hill Publications, 1997).

[15] There is no indication for this period of when formal schooling began and ended for children. It appears that the amount of schooling as well as its commencement and termination depended on the situation of the family. Obviously urban Friends had easier access to formal schooling, especially higher education, than did Friends on the frontier.

[16] Howard H. Brinton, *Quaker Education in Theory and Practice* (Pendle Hill Pamphlet Number 9, 1958), 41-2; also Helen G. Hole, *Things Civil and Useful*, 35.

Formal education was a critical aspect in the structural life of each meeting. The Discipline clearly stated that it was "important that suitable schools for the right education of our youth should be established" in each meeting.[19] Part of the fifth query specifically asked whether "children, and all others under our care, [were] instructed in school learning to fit them for business?"[20] It is not difficult to determine that the formal instruction of children was of the utmost importance to Friends. Practically, because so much of the business of the meeting was written, the survival of the meeting depended on the literacy of its members. Moreover, Quakers around the world were extensively involved in commerce and their success in these ventures depended on literacy, numeracy, and basic business skills.[21] In order to ensure their commercial success in infant communities, Quakers made great efforts to secure at least the rudiments of education for their children.[22]

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[17] Hole, *Things Civil and Useful*, 28-9.
[18] See for example, Robert Barclay, *Catechism and Confession of Faith, approved and agreed unto by the General Assembly, of the Patriarchs, Prophets, and Apostles, Christ Himself Chief Speaker in and among them. Which containeth a true and faithful Account of the Principles and Doctrines, which are most surely believed by the Churches of Christ in Great Britain and Ireland, who are reproachfully called by the name of Quakers; yet are found in the one Faith with the primitive Church and Saints, as is most clearly demonstrated by some plain Scripture Testimonies, (without consequences or commentaries) which are here collected, and inserted by way of Answer to a few weighty, yet easy and familiar Questions, filled as well for the wisest and largest, as well as for the weakest and lowest capacities* (Philadelphia: Joseph Crukshank, 1773), rpt. 1813, 1836, 1843, 1871. CYM Archives.
[19] *Discipline of the New York Yearly Meeting, 1810*, 98.
[20] Ibid., 34-5.
[21] For an examination of Quakers and their role in business see David Burns Windsor, *The Quaker Enterprise: Friends in Business* (London: Frederick Muller Limited, 1980).
[22] Judging from the style and penmanship of the meeting minutes from Yonge Street, it can be argued that most Yonge Street Friends had much more than just a rudimentary education. Although there is no

While a Quaker education was considered the best education, Friends were not forbidden from sending their children to schools run outside the Society. However, the yearly meetings preferred to see Quaker children provided with a "guarded education." In this vein, they strongly encouraged their monthly meetings to fill the position of teacher with a "qualified" Quaker. According to the Discipline well-qualified teachers were members of the Society who were not only "qualified to instruct the youth in school-learning," but would work with the Society "to afford them the good example of a conduct consistent with our principles."[23] The concern of the Yearly Meeting was clear: "[f]or want of teachers of this description, there is reason to apprehend, that children have sometimes been committed to the care of persons, whose example and influence have betrayed them into principles and habits, which have had an injurious effect on them in more advanced life."[24] The leadership of the Society realised that all the good intentions of the Discipline were irrelevant without the means to fulfil them properly.

When Quakers first arrived on Yonge Street, their immediate efforts were applied to building homes and clearing land. Children received instruction in their parents' homes in the first years. Yet, very early in the life of this frontier community, a school was opened for the Quaker children in the area. This no doubt had a great deal to do with the concentrated settlement of Friends on and near Yonge Street. The first mention of a Quaker school appears in the minutes in July of 1806.[25] That summer Timothy Rogers

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indication that every member of the meeting was highly literate, the clerks were definitely well-educated, based on the quality of their writing in the minutes. Records of Friends which include written complaints and acknowledgements also seem to indicate a very high level of literacy among most Friends.

[23] *Discipline of the New York Yearly Meeting, 1810*, 98.

[24] Ibid.

[25] This precedes the Education Act of 1807, which established grammar schools for the families of the elite, but made no provision for the education of the majority of settlers in Upper Canada. One source indicates that the school began in 1802. Jane Zavitz-Bond, "The Quakers of Yonge Street: Address to the 24th

returned from the yearly meeting at Philadelphia with a package containing "two blank books for the meetings' use, also a letter from friends of Philadelphia, containing a number of books, [and] paper with directions to deliver one book of each sort to Timothy Rogers jur, the said books, paper etc being for the use of a School under the direction of this meeting."[26] Although the settlement's founder, Timothy Rogers, had only a very rudimentary education, he was determined that the lack of amenities in the Upper Canadian bush was not going to hinder his children and the children of other Friends on Yonge Street from receiving the guarded education he lacked. According to Rogers's journal, at the time the meeting received the books in 1806, Timothy Rogers junior had already been keeping a school on Yonge Street for a year or two.[27] This had obviously been done with whatever school supplies could be cobbled together or shared among Friends. Happy to have a school with his son as school master in a settlement he established, Rogers must have been disappointed when, only two months after receiving directions from Philadelphia, the school committee reported that they felt it best "under present circumstances…not to place [Rogers Jr.] as a teacher in the school for the time mentioned in the letter from the friends of Philadelphia."[28] Timothy Rogers junior had apparently developed some fairly worldly ideas which disqualified him from presenting a good example to his students. According to Rogers senior, his son had taken an "uppish turn." The meeting minutes indicate that he had joined the military.[29] After Rogers was released as schoolmaster, the school was taken over by Joseph Hilborn, a Friend from

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Annual Meeting of the Canadian Friends Historical Association," *Canadian Quaker History Journal* (1996): 29.

[26] Yonge Street Preparative Meeting of Friends, 1804-1862, MS 303, Reel 26, B-2-76, 17-07-1806.

[27] Christopher Densmore and Albert Schrauwers, eds. *"The Best Man for Settling New Country…": The Journal of Timothy Rogers* (Toronto: Canadian Friends Historical Association Monograph Series Number 2, 2000), 108. Hereafter *The Journal of Timothy Rogers*.

[28] Ibid., 18-09-1806.

Pennsylvania who was more spiritually qualified to teach Quaker children on Yonge Street.

Even though the extracts from the Yearly Meeting continually encouraged the hiring of a female teacher, it appears that the Yonge Street School was largely kept by a male schoolmaster. There is no information to indicate why a woman was not chosen as teacher for the school. However, not having a female schoolmaster should not imply that the Friends on Yonge Street considered women unsuitable for this position. In the early years of a growing frontier community, there may not have been a woman of the appropriate age who did not already bear the responsibilities of wife and mother who would have been free to run a school in the meetinghouse. Moreover, many women who lived at a distance from Yonge Street continued to be active in the schooling of children.[30]

The proper schooling of Quaker children on the frontier was a subject of extensive discussion at all levels of the Quaker meetings. Because of their role as caregivers, women were keenly aware and active in the concern about establishing schools in frontier meetings. The New York Yearly Meeting of Women Friends was particularly engaged in this discussion when it met in 1812. The women in attendance were:

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[29] Yonge Street Monthly Meeting of Friends, MS 303, Reel 59, C397A, 17-12-1807 and 21-03-1808.

[30] Yonge Street Friends were accustomed to living on the frontier and travelling great distances to attend meetings. Many had come from frontier circumstances where they lived long distances from their yearly, quarterly, and monthly meetings. For instance, in 1791, Hugh Judge indicated in his journal that Friends in Vermont were "upwards of a hundred miles from Monthly Meeting." Friends on Yonge Street were 200 miles from the monthly meeting at Pelham until their own monthly meeting was established in 1806. Oddly enough, distance did not seem to deter Friends from attending meetings. Judge noted that, even with the long distances, Friends were "not stopped from going to meetings on account of a little rain or muddy weather; even tender women walk[ed] many miles on foot." *Memoirs and Journal of Hugh Judge* (Byberry, Pennsylvania: John and Isaac Comly, 1841), 229. Although Friends were prepared to undertake long journeys to attend monthly meeting, the work of clearing land and making a living would have precluded

> Renewedly introduced into a close and feeling exercise, on account of the education of the children amongst us, accompanied with a fear, that some of them are deprived of the benefit of suitable school learning; and much sympathy was exprest [sic] for those who, from their remote and scattered situations, or other causes, find many difficulties arise in the fulfilment of this very important duty, and an affectionate solicitation was felt, that those intrusted [sic] with the tuition of this precious part of the family, may be so imprest [sic] with a sense of its importance as to feel the necessity of continual and increasing care and exertion, in establishing such schools as may be under the direction of friends; where their children and others of whom they have the charge, may not only receive such a share of learning as will conduce to their comfort and advantage through life; but be preserved from the hurtful consequences, which sometimes arise from mixing in schools where religious principles different from those we profess are inculcated.[31]

In order to ensure that women were in fact exerting the proper care in this area, the yearly meeting asked that each quarterly, monthly and preparative meeting in its jurisdiction appoint two women Friends to survey their respective meetings to determine the location of each Friends' school. If suitable schools were not available in each meeting, each preparative meeting was "to endeavour to find some well disposed young woman willing to engage in this laudable undertaking."[32] Those meetings in more advantageous circumstances were also encouraged to contribute gifts of books, or personal assistance to ensure the success of this work. If Friends on Yonge Street did try to find "well disposed" young women to run schools in each of their preparative meetings, they were forestalled by the political and social circumstances in Upper Canada at the time.

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regular attendance at school. In these cases, children continued to be schooled at home or in family schools.

[31] "Extracts from the Yearly Meeting of Women Friends held in New York by adjournments from the 25th to the 29th of 5 mo 1812 inclusive," in Adolphustown Monthly Meeting of Women Friends, 1808-1824, MS 303, Reel 14, B-2-2, 17-09-1812.

[32] Ibid.

In 1813, the Yearly Meeting was happy to report that "in several of the Quarters, a number of Schools have been opened, agreeably to the direction of this meeting…."[33] Yet, the women in attendance at the yearly meeting that year acknowledged that there were still other meetings where circumstances prevented the opening of schools; Yonge Street was one of these. The school committee appointed at Yonge Street reported that "under our present situation [we] have seen no way open to make any progress or improvement, in the establishment of schools or procuring suitable books for that purpose."[34]

The "present situation" of the meeting was indeed difficult in 1813. Friends on Yonge Street found themselves in the middle of a war and an important constituent of weighty members had recently separated from them to join with David Willson and his Children of Peace. Moreover, 1813 was the year a second epidemic swept through the meeting claiming the lives of many weighty Friends. Given the circumstances, the construction of a schoolhouse was probably a distant priority. Yet, the yearly meeting encouraged women to continue in their efforts to establish schools for the purpose of "diffusing suitable instruction amongst the precious children intrusted [sic] to our care."[35] Considering the difficult state of affairs that some women must have faced in arduous frontier environments, this continued admonition to establish schools would have weighed heavily on their minds. The sense of discouragement pervasive among the women must have been reported to the Yearly Meeting. The 1813 minutes ended with a special exhortation to women not to give up hope in their trying circumstances but to remember "that great good has ofttimes [sic] arisen from small beginnings; and that even a little labour, if rightly bestowed, will not fail of its reward."[36]

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[33] "Extracts from the Yearly Meeting of Women Friends, Held in New York, by adjournments, from the 24th to the 28th of fifth month, inclusive, 1813," CYM Archives, Box 21, "Pelham."
[34] Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 1806-1818, MS 303, Reel 27, B-2-83, 14-01-1813. The school in the Yonge Street Preparative Meeting remained open, but none of the other preparatives had been able to establish more than family schools.
[35] "Extracts from the Yearly Meeting of Women Friends, 1813."

Even though a school was being run under the care of the meeting on Yonge Street, it was not until 1816 that the meeting was finally able to consider the "propriety" of building a school house on the meeting's land on Yonge Street.[37] The serious consideration of the construction of a schoolhouse was probably affected by the renewed interest of the yearly meeting in the subject of Quaker schools. When the Canada Half-Year's Meeting was held at Yonge Street in the summer of 1816 the extracts from the yearly meeting were discussed. One of the topics of prime importance was that "respecting schools." The discussion elicited "sympathy…on that interesting subject" and a committee was appointed to investigate the situation of Quaker schools in Upper Canada. Yonge Street women were particularly active in this effort. Of the eleven women appointed to the committee on schools, seven were from Yonge Street.[38] Therefore, it is not surprising that there was a push to construct schools within the meeting. In late 1816 the Yonge Street Preparative Meeting reported that they had sufficient subscriptions to go ahead with construction and, by 1817, a schoolhouse was built on the northeast corner of the meetinghouse property.[39] The school ran for at least a decade prior to being housed in a building constructed expressly for that purpose. Prior to that it was most likely kept in the meetinghouse or in the house of a Friend.

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[36] Ibid.
[37] Yonge Street Preparative Meeting of Friends, 1804-1842, 07-11-1816.
[38] Canada Half-yearly Meeting of Women Friends, 1810-1864, Reel 14, B-1-13, 28-08-1816. Those appointed included: Phebe Winn, Margaret Bonnel, Martha Linvill, Sarah Garret, Sarah Carman, Anna Marsh, Elisabeth Havens, Mary Holingshead, Phebe Vernon, Elisabeth Lane, and Anna Rogers.
[39] Ibid., 08-05-1817.

Interestingly, the respective preparative meetings of the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting also had schools built around the same time. The James School was built in Uxbridge in 1817. In the same year a schoolhouse was to be constructed on the meetinghouse property at Whitchurch. However, unable to acquire sufficient funds for this purpose, building was cancelled until 1820 when a school was successfully constructed at Pine Orchard in the Whitchurch Preparative Meeting.[40] Soon after separating from the Society of Friends, the Children of Peace also constructed a boarding school in 1817. This construction activity coincided with the passage of the Common Schools Act of 1816 in the provincial assembly. The result was a marked increase in the incidence of schools around the colony.[41] However, Quaker schools, like other denominational schools and private academies, remained privately funded by the preparative and monthly meetings in which they were located. The fact that there was a burst of construction activity around the same time indicates that, by the second generation, the forest had been beaten back enough to enable Friends to address the intention of building a schoolhouse.

The immediate needs of shelter and food on the frontier often delayed the construction of a schoolhouse. Although a separate building was desirable, the fact that schooling took place well before the construction of a schoolhouse indicates that a special facility was not a prerequisite for formal Quaker education. Schools were run in all the preparative meetings well before buildings were constructed to house them. The practicalities of housing a school were no different for Quakers than they were for other settlers in frontier Upper Canada. Schooling was fairly widespread throughout Upper Canada in the early years whether it took place in a schoolhouse or not.[42] We know, for instance, from the journals of women like Anne Langton and Mary O'Brien that many scholars were schooled in the homes of their teachers.[43]

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[40] Whitchurch Preparative Meeting of Friends, 1816-1841, MS 303, Reel 26, B-2-73, 16-10-1816, 14-05-1817, 11-03-1818, 05-04-1820.

Even after a school had been built at Yonge Street, some Friends wanted more than the minimum Quaker education available to their children in frontier settlements. Those who were eager to have a higher quality education for their children chose to send them to boarding school. However, sending children to boarding school was an option available only to wealthier Friends. Nine Partners Boarding School in New York State and Westtown Boarding School in Philadelphia were two of the most important boarding schools for Friends in North America. Although male and female students were taught in separate classes, both institutions were co-educational and had nearly equal numbers of male and female students. Boarding school provided an advanced Quaker education, which exceeded that offered by the smaller schools in local meetings. Considering the financial circumstances of these new immigrants, boarding school was not a feasible option for their children. Even Timothy Rogers, who was clearly the wealthiest Friend in the Yonge Street meeting, could only afford to have his son Timothy attend boarding school because Friends in Philadelphia assisted him in doing so.[44] The assistance that

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[41] According to Robert Gourlay's statistical analysis in 1817, there were 165 common schools serving a population of just over 34,000 people. Robert Gourlay, *Statistical Account of Upper Canada* (London, 1822), 126.

[42] Harry Smaller, "Teachers and Schools in Early Ontario," *Ontario History* 85, 4 (1993): 294.

[43] See, for instance, H.H. Langton, *A Gentlewoman in Upper Canada: The Journals of Anne Langton* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Company Limited, 1950); Audrey Saunders Miller, ed. *The Journals of Mary O'Brien, 1828-1838* (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1968).

[44] Timothy Rogers junior attended Westtown Boarding School for a year beginning in 1804. Timothy Rogers noted that in 1804 he went "to Vermont and took [his] son from a school and he went with [him] to Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia" where Timothy junior "stayed to Friends School at West-Town by

Rogers received was an expression of an overarching interest that Friends in large, more established meetings had for Quaker children living on the frontier. Other meetings also offered tangible support and assistance to ensure that proper levels of education were attained at Yonge Street, particularly in the second generation.

The first offer came from the Yearly Meeting in 1818 when the committee responsible for establishing a permanent fund for the boarding school at Nine Partners "propose[d] to offer to the acceptance of Friends of the Half Years Meeting in Canada the Board and tuition of two children[,] members of the society[,] one year."[45] The meetings or families of potential scholars were to provide clothing and other incidentals. The selection of these scholars was considered very carefully. Both of the students chosen were the sons of prominent Quaker families in the meeting—Wing Rogers, the son of Timothy and Sarah Rogers, and John Bonnel, the son of Henry and Margaret Bonnel.[46] Each scholar represented one of the two largest groups in the community: Rogers the Vermonters and Bonnel the Pennsylvanians. Even with the assistance of tuition and board, however, physically getting to the school itself was no mean feat. Wing Rogers remembered: "In the year 1818, I left home on foot, to cary [sic] myself and all the necessary clothing, to the Nine Partners Boarding School, the distance being five hundred miles, held in Dutches [sic] County, New York State, & about the twentieth year of my life."[47] It must have taken considerable time to travel that distance on foot. By August of 1819, when John Bonnel did not appear at the school, his father Henry returned his son's

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Friends' kind offer." This education was obviously what qualified Rogers junior to become schoolmaster at Yonge Street. *The Journal of Timothy Rogers, 108.*

[45] Miscellaneous Papers Relating to Yonge Street, MS 303, Reel 54, D-1-21, 02-09-1818.

[46] Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 1806-1818,, 17-12-1818.

[47] William A. McKay, "The Journal of Wing Rogers," from *The Pickering Story*, rpt. in Christopher Densmore and Albert Schrauwers eds., *"The Best Man for Settling New Country": The Journal of Timothy Rogers*, (Canadian Friends Historical Association Monograph Series Number Two, 2000), 141.

travelling minute to the monthly meeting.[48] Rowland Brown, another Vermonter, was selected to attend in Bonnel's place.[49]

Wing Rogers obviously took advantage of the opportunity that attendance at Nine Partners afforded him. When he returned to Yonge Street in the fall of 1820 he was able to produce a minute to the monthly meeting informing them that "he had attended said school agreeable thereto, to his and his relations satisfaction."[50] Wing Rogers's father must have been pleased. Timothy Rogers had received only three months of education and, although he journalised copiously, it is apparent that he struggled with writing. This, no doubt, was a consideration in the consistent refusal of the meeting to recognise him in a position of any authority. Wing Rogers accomplished his father's unfulfilled desires. He remained an upright member of the Yonge Street Quaker community and was eventually recognised as a minister in the Orthodox group.

Education did matter to Quakers. As much as Friends espoused the precepts of equality in education, it is apparent that specific forms of formal education, such as boarding school, created or magnified differences in status within the Yonge Street meeting. Moreover, no female scholars were provided with the opportunity to attend boarding school in this period, at the expense of the yearly meeting. This indicates that, although women were considered the spiritual equals of men, the meeting considered local education adequate for any goals to which they might aspire. The most obvious of these goals would be matrimony and motherhood.

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[48] Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 1806-1818, 12-08-1819. John Bonnel, who was born in 1803, was about five years younger than Wing Rogers. His younger age may have had something to do with his failure to appear at the school.
[49] Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 1818-1828, MS 303, Reel 27, B-2-84, 16-12-1819.
[50] Ibid., 14-09-1820.

In addition to providing assistance for boarding school education, Friends outside Yonge Street Monthly Meeting also showed their concern for the sheltered schooling of Quaker children in Upper Canada by giving gifts to support formal education within the local community. Charles Wharton gave a generous donation to this cause in 1819. Although he was a member of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and the Yonge Street meeting had long since been moved under the jurisdiction of the New York Yearly Meeting, Wharton gave a donation of one thousand dollars to the Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia specifically to assist students in Upper Canada. The Canada Half-Year's meeting decided to divide the money among the Upper Canadian meetings. The monthly meetings at Adolphustown and Yonge Street each received three hundred dollars and those at Pelham and Norwich each got two hundred dollars. The donation was to be kept as principal but the meetings could draw on the interest to support "the guarded education of the rising generation."[51] These funds were used primarily for the purchase of books, as in 1826 when $134.50 from the fund was applied towards books "approved amongst friends" for the school.[52] Yet, it was not only Friends at a distance who felt the pressing need to contribute to the education of Yonge Street children. Recognising the value of a practical education, Joseph Roberts, a bachelor and member of the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting who died in the 1813 epidemic, bequeathed all the profits of his estate "to the use of schooling poor peoples children of Yonge Street Monthly Meeting."[53] Roberts was a Pennsylvanian. Since most of the Pennsylvanians were poorer than the Vermonters, this donation would, almost certainly, have been applied to the education of the Pennsylvanian children. Donations to the school, in the form of money or books, helped to ensure that Quaker children near Yonge Street continued to receive a religiously guarded education similar to that offered in Quaker meetings in the transatlantic world.

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[51] Extract of the Canada Half Years' Meeting held at West Lake, the 3rd and 4th of 2nd month 1819," Miscellaneous Papers Relating to Yonge Street.

[52] Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 1818-1828, 14-12-1826. The minutes of the men's meeting report that a women's committee was struck to meet with the men to determine which books should be purchased. I was unable to find the minutes of this women's meeting. However, it is interesting to note those men appointed to the committee, given what we know about doctrinal tension in the meeting at this time. The men appointed: Nicholas Brown, Timothy Rogers, Joseph Pearson, Thomas Linville, Watson Playter and Henry Widdifield were some of the strongest advocates on both sides of the Hicksite-Orthodox controversy. There is no reason to assume that women would not have been selected on the same basis. Therefore, in addition to the tension present in meetings for worship and business, the schools had also become hotbeds of religious tension.

The local school continued to provide formal instruction to Quakers in the area until the Hicksite-Orthodox split in 1828.[54] Arguments over ownership of the meeting property extended to the schoolhouse, which was built on the same piece of land. Moreover, where parents were prepared to stand in the fray on their own to battle religious doctrine, they would not have been prepared to send their children into this religious war zone, lest they fall prey to the rhetoric of the opposition. In addition, one group or the other would have withdrawn their children based on the doctrinal emphasis of the teacher. With dwindling attendance and property disputes, the school "was discontinued." Once the Yonge Street School closed there was no school specifically set aside for the guarded education of Quaker children. As a result, those Quaker children who were not educated at home began to attend local common schools. This played a large role in breaking down the "hedge of protection" that Friends had so carefully erected to separate themselves from mainstream society. As young people were educated by and with non-Friends, their exposure to non-Quaker values and beliefs increased. This threatened their status as a 'peculiar people'.

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[53] Will of Joseph Roberts, 1813, MS 638, Reel 98, Provincial Archives of Ontario, hereafter PAO.
[54] Yonge Street Preparative Meeting of Friends, 1804-1862, Reel 26, B-2-76, 05-11-1829.

The knowledge that young people were receiving an "unguarded" education, heightened anxiety among the older generation who had been educated in a sheltered Quaker environment. Solutions to this problem illustrate the differences that separated the Hicksite and Orthodox groups. For instance, when Hannah C. Backhouse from the London Yearly Meeting visited Orthodox Friends in 1833, she "suggested to [the] meeting the consideration of opening schools for the purpose of scripture instruction."[55] These would have been Bible or First Day Schools, known in other denominations as Sunday Schools.

Local historian, David Newlands, comments that, although earlier generations had frowned upon the notion of First Day Schools because they were not practical enough, the lost opportunity for Friends to have input into the daily curriculum used to teach their children probably led to the revised position on the value of First Day Schools for providing a specifically Quaker education.[56] Certainly, at Backhouse's behest, Orthodox Friends moved very quickly to establish one of these schools. Within two months of her suggestion, the regulations for schools for scripture instruction had been established. Teachers had to be members of the Society approved by the school committee; children who were not in membership with Friends could only be admitted at the discretion of the committee; and when numbers warranted, boys and girls were to be taught separately.[57] First Day schools were primarily a concern of Orthodox Friends and demonstrate their emphasis on issues of doctrine. At the request of the yearly meeting, Yonge Street Friends repeatedly struck committees to determine the prospect of opening another Quaker school. Insufficient financial support from the local community meant this never materialised. Once First Day schools provided specific scriptural instruction, the majority of Quakers were obviously satisfied with the publicly-funded schooling that their children received in the local schools. As they considered the expense of maintaining a privately-funded school, Orthodox Friends decided that a combination of faith education in First Day schools, at meetings, and at home would have to suffice.

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[55] Yonge Street Preparative Meeting of Ministers and Elders, 1828-1835, Reel 26, B-2-78, 12-09-1833.
[56] David Newlands, "The Yonge Street Friends School, 1806-1828," *The York Pioneer* 71, 2(1976): 15.

The Hicksites, on the other hand, were more concerned to guard their children's schooling closely. In 1835, the Genesee Yearly Meeting recommended that each monthly and preparative meeting establish schools "entirely under the care of friends."[58] The expense of sending one's children to private rather than public school was recognised and the yearly meeting recommended that for those who could not afford the expense, the costs were to be covered by the monthly meeting.[59] The Hicksites also became active in the establishment of schools intended to "improve the condition of Indians." These "manual labour" schools, established throughout the Genesee Yearly Meeting, were funded by voluntary donations from each monthly meeting.[60]

By the 1830s, Quakers alongside other Upper Canadians were actively participating in the schooling movement that spread through the colony well before mid-century. The increased incidence of schools in the decade of the 1830s has been attributed to "the competitive quest for educational 'improvement'"[61] and the realisation that schooling could contribute to upward mobility.[62] Quakers shared in this movement, using formal schooling as a tool of communal and social reform.

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[57] Yonge Street Preparative Meeting of Ministers and Elders, 1828-1835, 14-11-1833.
[58] Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, Book No. 3, MS 303, Reel 48, C-3-100, 17-09-1835.
[59] Ibid.
[60] For instance, in 1835, the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting (Hicksite) contributed 160 dollars for these efforts among the "Cataroque Indians." Ibid.
[61] Susan E. Houston and Alison Prentice, *Schooling and Scholars*, 60.
[62] Chad Gaffield, "Children, Schooling and Family Reproduction in Nineteenth-Century Ontario."

The movement into the public-education system did not mean that Quakers gave up principles particular to their faith. Friends continued to attend meetings and deal with the business of the community in the same way they had before. Membership numbers did not drop. When Quakers entered public education in Upper Canada they brought their faith with them. Bolstered by the various aspects of informal education, the Quakers' faith remained the filter through which instruction in public schools passed. Nor did the movement of Quakers into the public-school system mean the end of Quaker education in Upper Canada. In fact, Quakers, along with other denominations began to press for advanced denominational education at the college or university level. In 1841, about the same time a number of other denominational universities began to operate, the Canada Half-Year's Meeting opened the West Lake Boarding School.[63]

Joseph John Gurney, an evangelical Orthodox Friend from London who visited Upper Canada in 1838-1839, at the beginning of the third generation, was instrumental in the construction of the Friends' boarding school. Gurney was the son of a wealthy Quaker banker. He studied at Oxford and continued to pursue studies in the classics and foreign languages after he had taken his place in his father's business. Gurney was profoundly influenced by the philanthropic reform movements of the nineteenth century, especially the prison reform movement led by his sister, Elizabeth Gurney Fry. Therefore, he had a deep commitment to the education of Friends' children, especially female children. While in Upper Canada Gurney demonstrated his concern by giving a personal donation to be applied to the establishment of a boarding school in Upper

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[63] About this time the Presbyterians opened Queen's University in Kingston, the Baptists established McMaster University in Hamilton, and the Methodists founded Victoria College in Cobourg.

Canada.[64] The Canada Half-Year's Meeting quickly decided that a boarding school would "be established immediately." The school was "to be a manual labour school where the students' labour [was to] be applied to their maintenance and education."[65] Land was selected at Bloomfield in Prince Edward County and in 1841 the West Lake Boarding School was opened. Admission was strictly reserved for members of the Society of Friends. Based as it was on Quaker principles, the West Lake Boarding School was co-educational. It was not the first to offer advanced education to young women in Upper Canada. But, unlike the Methodist's Upper Canada Academy, which became a completely male institution in 1841, the boarding school remained co-educational until 1927.[66] In fact, girls were the first students admitted to West Lake and it was not until the following year, in 1842, that the boys' department was opened and the school became fully co-educational.[67] Friends who could afford the cost of the school were apparently pleased to have a quality Quaker education for their daughters offered at a much closer proximity than Nine Partners in New York or Westtown in Philadelphia.

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[64] Gurney offered Canadian Friends five hundred pounds if a boarding school was established at Bloomfield, near Adolphustown. "Reminiscences of West Lake Boarding School by Rachel W. Haight of Newmarket," *Canadian Friend* 1, 3(September 1905):6.

[65] Extracts from the Canada Half Years Meeting, Yonge Street Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1836-1850, Reel 27, B-2-85, 13-09-1838.

[66] In 1836 the Methodists responded to the call for higher education for women. When the Upper Canada Academy was opened under the auspices of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, it was not strictly designated as a co-educational institution. Records indicate, though, that it was assumed that the student body would include both males and females. When the Academy became a degree-granting institution in 1841 and was incorporated as Victoria College, admission was reserved to males. See Marion Royce, "Methodism and the Education of Women in Nineteenth-Century Ontario," *Atlantis* 3, 2(1978): 131-143. West Lake Boarding School remained co-educational until it was reopened in Newmarket in 1927 as Pickering College. Arthur Garrett Dorland, *The Quakers in Canada: A History* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1968), 279.

[67] Interestingly, it is 1842, the date that the boys' department was opened that appears on the current Pickering College crest as the recognised date that the school was established.

Indeed, in the early years of West Lake, female students far outnumbered the male students.[68]

The importance of the boarding school in the schooling of the Upper Canadian Quaker community is apparent in the reminiscences of those who attended. Consider the memories of Harriet Pearson, a member of one of the Yonge Street Friends community's founding families:

> I was born in the year 1825, in a Quaker home … three miles south of Newmarket. At the age of three years, I began attending school in our neighbourhood. It was not a kindergarten, that school. We knew nothing of picture lessons, tablets, the look and say system, or phonic method. If a scholar had a spelling book, that was quite enough. My teacher, Frederick Stephens, was kind and good, and I presume I made as good progress as others of my age. Thus my early education continued until I was sixteen, when I must be sent away for the 'finish'. It was no question as to where I should go. There was but one place in the minds of all true Friends—the West Lake Boarding School. Not only had the Friends a high opinion of this school, but all looked upon it as one of the best institutions of learning in Upper Canada.[69]

The passage of time may have softened the memories, but it is evident that Quakers at least held the school in high esteem. It had been started in response to the perceived need for an "institution where [Quaker] children might receive a better education than in the public schools of Upper Canada."[70] In the 1840s a "better" education was still interpreted by Friends as a Quaker education.

The idea of a 'guarded' Quaker education continued to remain important to Friends in Upper Canada. The challenge the majority of Quakers faced, though, was the practical cost of maintaining separate schools. This became increasingly difficult throughout the 1840s. After Ontario's first Common School Act was passed in 1841,

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[68] For instance, in the school's first year, twenty-five girls attended compared to seven boys. "West Lake Boarding School (The Original Pickering College: Reminiscences of Esther (Rogers) Cody," *Canadian Friend* 5, 7(1910): 12.

[69] "Reminiscences of Harriett (Pearson) MacCracken of Newmarket (aged 80 years)," 6.

£50,000 was allocated for funding local elementary schools. While these funds were to be divided between Canada East and Canada West, in proportion to their respective school enrolments, the amount was significantly higher than the £2,500 annual designation in Upper Canada through the 1820s and 1830s.[71] This injection of public funding and the centralisation of education policy dramatically changed the nature of schooling in Upper Canada. Denominational schools became more difficult to maintain as they competed with less-costly alternatives. Nevertheless, the yearly meeting encouraged Yonge Street Quakers to try to maintain their own school. And there were repeated attempts to resurrect a Quaker school. Few were successful for any length of time. Finally, in 1845, the school committee in the Yonge Street Orthodox meeting was able to report that there were 114 students who attended "district" schools, 25 who were schooled at home, and one school "under the care of friends and taught by a friend."[72] The number of students who attended the Quaker school in 1845 is not recorded, but it was the first time in many years that a separate school had been in existence. But separate schools were costly and few could afford the expense of West Lake Boarding School or a separate local school. The result was the increased acceptance of publicly-funded, state-directed schooling.

Given the continued pressure from the yearly meeting for separate schools, the fact that most Quaker children attended local common or public schools is revealing of the ongoing relationship of Friends with the larger geographic community. It indicates a distinct shift in the ways in which Friends in the local community viewed schooling. When the Society of Friends had begun and Quakers had not been welcomed into public

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[70] "Reminiscences of Rachael W. Haight of Newmarket," *Canadian Friend* 1, 3(1905): 6.
[71] Harry Smaller, "Teachers and Schools in Early Ontario," 291.

education, they had developed a system of practical schooling which helped them to succeed in their daily lives. As they withdrew from mainstream society in the eighteenth century, schooling became one more brace in the hedge of protection that separated Friends from the world. Where the testimonies on plainness served as symbolic points of separation, a 'guarded' education physically removed Quakers from mainstream society. Schooling using Quaker books, catechisms, and worship was considered an integral part of transmitting a faith from one generation to the next. It demonstrated a deep distrust of the world and of those who did not share the Quaker faith. Through this separate schooling, the faith was maintained throughout generations of Quakers who were instructed sufficiently to "fit them for business" while they were harboured from the corrupt manners of the world. At the same time, though, Friends developed an intricate web of informal education which socialised children in the tenets of Quakerism.

By the nineteenth century when the Society was fragmenting and the carefully-erected barriers between Friends and the world were crumbling, formal schooling was still considered an important part of the transfer of faith from one generation to the next. But it was no longer as integral to sustaining the faith. Rather, Quakers like other rural folk in Upper Canada began to view schooling as a mechanism of family reproduction that would allow their children to achieve a certain degree of economic independence.[73] Informal education remained the bulwark of the faith. The instruments of informal education and socialisation had become so pivotal in the life of the Society of Friends that they could not be destroyed in the schoolrooms of Upper Canada. Even though the Society appeared to be falling apart, Friends in the various factions remained confident in

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[72] Yonge Street Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1836-1850, Reel 28, B-2-85, 16-01-1845.
[73] Chad Gaffield, "Children, Schooling, and Family Reproduction," 186.

their faith identity and in the role of socialisation in producing the next generation of Quakers. Those who could afford the cost of a guarded education for their children were grateful for the presence of a boarding school that provided instruction of high quality. However, those who could not afford the expense, and they were the majority, no longer considered their faith under siege. The principles of Quakerism had stood the test of time.

Increased interactions with non-Quakers beginning in the 1820s had resulted in accommodation from both sides. Evangelical Protestants welcomed Quakers into their schools. Their presence strengthened calls for non-denominational schools and helped to challenge the Anglican/Tory hegemony over education. Friends began to realise that they could sustain their faith community without separating themselves from the world or losing the testimonies and beliefs they valued. As their distrust of the world decreased, so too did their need to withdraw from it. Increasingly integrated into Upper Canadian society, Yonge Street Friends kept their faith by religiously guarding the socialisation of their children instead of sheltering them from the world.

Mixing with the world did have an impact on interpretations of Quaker identity which loosened considerably by the 1850s. This is most clearly exemplified in comparing the journal of Timothy Rogers with that of another Rogers, Daniel Haviland Rogers, a third-generation Upper Canadian.[74] Where Timothy Rogers spoke of his mind often being "bowed to the Lord," Daniel Rogers had a much more utilitarian approach to his faith. While he considered himself a devout Quaker, he felt free to publicly defend the non-sectarianism of Friends in the local Newmarket newspaper:

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[74] Daniel Haviland Rogers was the son of Asa Rogers and his fourth wife, Lydia Ray. Asa Rogers had been married first to Mary Rogers, the daughter of Timothy Rogers and Sarah Wilde Rogers. He was one of the original Yonge Street settlers. Daniel Rogers was born 16-12-1826, just as the troubles of the separation were coming to a head. His socialisation in the Society of Friends, was entirely different than that of Friends two generations before.

> If anyone requires proof of individuals of the Society of Friends, having united with members of other denominations in the support of Sabbath Schools, and other kindred benevolent objects, let them examine the journals of William Allen, J.J. Gurney, William Foster, Elizabeth Fry and many others that could be named if necessary. And where, let me ask, can individuals be found who were more completely divested of Sectarianism than those I have named. And that their united actions with other Sects have been approved of by a large majority of the society to which they belong, is proof that the society of Friends do not wish to encourage a spirit of sectarianism....[75]

Rogers was not the only member of the meeting to share these opinions. When his letter warranted a reply from a writer who called himself "Plurali," Rogers solicited the advice of his fellow Friends in crafting a careful defence of his convictions.[76] Rogers followed his assertions with actions. As an upright member of the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, he attended business meetings regularly and commented on people's qualifications for ministry. [77] Yet, he also freely attended Methodist services, remarking on the quality of the sermons delivered there.[78]

The fragmentation of the Society of Friends had not destroyed Quakers. The movement away from sectarianism created opportunities for Friends to work together with those from other denominations to participate actively in the affairs of the world.[79]

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[75] "Sabbath School Convention and the Quakers," *Newmarket Era*, 1 April 1859.

[76] *Diary of Daniel H. Rogers for the Year 1859* (Tecumseth and West Gwillimbury Historical Society), April 16, 17, and 19.

[77] Rogers was an active Friends in the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting (Orthodox). He attended all business meetings and was appointed as the representative to the monthly meeting. Therefore, his opinions reflect those of an active, practising Friend.

[78] *Diary of Daniel H. Rogers for the Year 1859* June 29 and July 3.

[79] Daniel Rogers was active in local affairs. He was chosen as chairman of the Newmarket Debating Club (February 3). He attended a meeting at the Newmarket Courthouse on "how to dispose of the Clergy Reserve Fund," (February 22). In May, Rogers went to a discussion on the benefits of prohibition (May 5). On June 15 he offered his "woods" for a temperance tea party which drew 300 people; three days later he attended another temperance tea part in King Township. And, Rogers ended the year by attending the Grand Division of Sons of Temperance Annual Session in Newmarket (December 6).

As they became less peculiar and moved more actively into worldly affairs, they did so very much as Quakers. Their specific worldview and socialisation in a faith that encouraged the equality of all believers stood to have a valuable and indelible effect on the world in which they lived.

Conclusion:
A Little Leaven

By the 1850s, what it meant to be a Quaker in Upper Canada had changed significantly from the period when the Yonge Street settlement had been founded by Timothy Rogers in 1801. Daniel Rogers, Timothy's grandson for instance, had been the subject of meeting discipline in 1851 for marrying "out of order".[1] Because of significant changes to the marriage testimony, Rogers was able to retain his membership in the Society fairly easily.[2] He went on to become not just an active member of the Yonge Street meeting, but also a diligent citizen of the Newmarket community, and a loyal subject of the Queen.[3] This particular accommodation of identity as Quaker and active participant in Upper Canadian society would have been impossible fifty years earlier.

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[1] A complaint was entered at the Yonge Street Preparative Meeting in May 1851, charging Daniel Rogers with marrying a non-member by the assistance of a priest. Yonge Street Preparative Meeting of Friends, 1804-1862, MS 303, Reel 26, B-2-76, 08-05-1851. Rogers married Anne Richardson, a member of the Richardson family of Quakers from Pickering. Why this marriage occurred "out of order" is unknown. The Richardson family remained Quakers and Rogers recorded that he attended Quaker weddings for other members of the Richardson family. Marrying "out" was not nearly the issue it had been two generations before. Rogers, for one, did not view marriage out as contradictory to membership in the Quaker meeting. For instance, in September 1859, Rogers wrote: "Asa [his brother] married to Clarisa F. Lakey at Jared Irwins [sic] 9 A.M. by Rev. Goldsmith, attended Monthly Meeting with Mother." *Diary of Daniel H. Rogers for the Year 1859* (Tecumseth and West Gwillimbury Historical Society, nd), 39. Asa, Daniel's brother, also was a regular attender and member of the Yonge Street meeting. Daniel was the son of Asa Rogers and his third wife, Lydia Ray. His relationship as Timothy's grandson comes through Asa's first wife, Mara Rogers, who was Timothy's daughter.

[2] The number of Quakers marrying "out of order" had negatively affected the recorded membership of Friends. The Discipline had been revised in 1830 to reflect some of these concerns. Until the revision, those who married non-members were immediately disowned, unless they presented a written acknowledgement to the meeting condemning their "error." That requirement was struck from the 1830 Discipline and replaced with the requirement that a committee visit the individual in question. If the person who married "out" expressed a desire to be retained in membership, was a regular attender and was "attached to the religious principles of the Society" they could be retained in membership. This was a significant change from the obligatory public acknowledgement and condemnation of transgressions of the Discipline. *Discipline of the Yearly Meeting of Friends, Held in New York, for the State of New York and Parts Adjacent, as Revised and Adopted in the Sixth Month, 1810* (New York: John F. Sibell, 1830), 60. Note that because only parts of the Discipline were revised, it remained the 1810 Discipline.

[3] Rogers's extensive involvement in community activities is noted in Chapter Eight. Comments about loyalty also appear in his diary. On May 24 he commented on the local celebration of the Queen's birthday

Not everyone was pleased with more relaxed definitions of Quakerism as seen in the answers to the queries in the meeting minutes. The 1856 responses to the third query on plainness reported: "a departure from plainness is to [sic] prevalent amongst us...." By 1860 "departures" from plainness were regularly recorded as "sorrowfully too prevalent."[4] As disappointing as the trends in fashion and language had become in the meeting, the women were pleased to point out that: "most friends are careful to train their children and those under their care in the principles of the christian [sic] religion as professed by us."[5] It was this training, or informal education, that had kept the Quaker faith alive, when the ties of the meeting had been torn apart. The chief principles of Quakerism—peace, equality, and simplicity—gave the faith a unique strength, even when Friends could not agree on points of doctrine.

Because the faith was kept alive, Quakers in the third generation of the Yonge Street community were able to re-establish personal ties, even though the larger faith community remained divided. As acrimonious as the separation of 1828 had been, thirty years later Friends were visiting one another and co-operating on common social concerns. This is evident in the interactions of Daniel Rogers. Consider the funerals Rogers attended in 1859: Theodore Winn's at the Congregational Church; Anna Armitage's at the Hicksite Meetinghouse; Esther Doan's at the Yonge Street Friends' Meetinghouse; and, Joseph Hartmann's at the Aurora West Methodist Church. Winn, Doan and Armitage were all members of the Yonge Street Quaker community. Judging from their church affiliation, none of these individuals shared similar opinions on the

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which had included public lectures and fireworks. He proudly ended his day's entry by commenting that: "Newmarket Made quite a display of Loyalty." *Diary of Daniel H. Rogers*, 26. Emphasis in original.

[4] Whitchurch Preparative Meeting of Women Friends, 1855-1884, MS 303, Reel 26, B-2-75, 06-02-1856 and 05-12-1860.

finer points of doctrine. Yet, Rogers specifically commented not only on attending their funerals but on occasionally visiting with them. Attendance at their funerals also indicates that, even if these individuals were not close friends, Rogers considered them and their position in the community as important enough to take time from his schedule to pay his final respects. Therefore, Rogers, who was, in his own estimation, a strong defender of the Quaker faith, mixed freely with Friends and neighbours who advocated a variety of religious points of view. Rogers was not alone among Friends. A diverse crowd of Quakers and non-Quakers, both women and men, was presumably present at the well-attended "Temperance Tea Party" held in Rogers's woods in the summer of 1859.[6]

Putting down stakes on the north end of Yonge Street in 1801, Timothy Rogers probably did not envision a group of three hundred people from a variety of denominations milling about in the woods on one of his descendant's farms working together to agitate for temperance. Rogers's settlement in Upper Canada had been an extension of the eighteenth-century retreat of Quakers from mainstream society. After the American Revolution, pacifist Friends wanted to escape discriminatory government policies at the same time that they wanted to purify their faith community. They moved to the western frontiers of North America where they worked to establish communities that were isolated, relatively autonomous and where they could live out their testimonies in peace. The Yonge Street settlements was just one of these several communities.

When the first group of Vermont and Pennsylvania Quakers arrived in Upper Canada in 1801, they quickly implemented specific strategies to ensure the success of

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[5] Ibid. 05-12-1860.

[6] Rogers recorded that 300 tickets were sold for this event. The crowd would certainly have been mixed denominationally. *Diary of Daniel Rogers*, 28. Rogers also commented regularly about the attendance of his wife, Anne, and his mother Lydia Ray Rogers at these events.

their faith community. The availability of land allowed Friends to settle in large blocs. When the original patents were filled, Friends moved further into the woods and continued the same pattern. By 1808 the Yonge Street community was comprised of five settlements: Yonge Street, Queen Street in East Gwillimbury Township, Pine Orchard in Whitchurch Township, Uxbridge and Pickering. Quickly these settlements arranged themselves into the hierarchical structure of meeting organisation set out in the Discipline. Originally placed under the authority of Pelham Monthly Meeting, which answered directly to the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, Yonge Street Friends quickly proved themselves worthy of monthly meeting status which they achieved in 1806. The individual settlements then formed the preparative meetings of the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting. Friends at Yonge Street were sensitive to their remote location from the Yearly Meeting and the difficulties created by the lack of a quarterly meeting. They spearheaded the unification with the other two Upper Canadian meetings, Pelham and Adolphustown, under the authority of the Canada Half-Year's Meeting. The fact that the half-year's meeting had the authority of a quarterly meeting but only met twice a year, was a concession to the distance between the Upper Canadian meetings and the difficulty of travelling between them. By 1809, when the Upper Canadian meetings were unified, the Yonge Street meeting was the largest Quaker meeting in Upper Canada.

The stability and strength of the first-generation community established in these bloc settlements was sustained and reinforced by kinship and marriage, informal education, and socialisation in the meeting through the application of the Discipline. Through marriage within the community, ties of kinship overlaid bonds of faith. Friends who were already related before they came to Yonge Street became even more closely connected. Moreover, through marriage and kinship the separate settlements were fastened together in a large faith community of Friends. Through passive and active informal education, Friends, young and old, were continually socialised in the tenets of Quakerism. Because informal education did not require formalised structures, it could be implemented in the community immediately, regardless of the frontier conditions. Moreover, because Yonge Street was a remote meeting, the community influences were largely internal. Epistles and books came into the community from outside and made Friends aware of their larger place in the transatlantic Society of Friends. Yonge Street Friends also travelled to other meetings, both as representatives of the monthly meeting and the half-year's meeting, or on personal business. But few travelling ministers came to Yonge Street in the first generation.[7] As a result, Yonge Street Friends had a great deal of control over their community and how it was formed. This is reflected in the manner in which the Discipline was interpreted locally and the willingness of Friends to defy disciplinary actions with which they did not agree.

The strength of the community was challenged in the first generation, but its sheltered character and its detachment from mainstream society meant that these threats were localised in the community. Epidemics decreased the size of the community and killed a number of weighty Friends. The War of 1812 brought armed conflict to the doorstep of the Yonge Street Quakers and pushed them to stand by their pacifist beliefs. The fact that only a handful of Friends had any involvement in the war attests to the continued peculiarity of the sect and their detachment from Upper Canadian society at that time. Because the community was separate and insulated individual personalities emerged and played a large role in directing the community. David Willson was one of these. His prophetic visions threatened the community by drawing Friends into ugly doctrinal and personal disputes that eventually resulted in the removal of a group of Quakers from the meeting. This was a localised schism that had little impact outside the Yonge Street meeting. For Yonge Street Friends, however, it marked the end of the first-generation community because of the fissures it created. It pushed the issue of doctrine, something that had been of little consequence to Quakers, into the foreground in the meeting and in the homes of Friends; it also foreshadowed a second, much more broadly-based and destructive schism.

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[7] Excepting those Friends who visited Yonge Street specifically to discuss the unification of the Upper Canadian meetings, Yonge Street received only five visiting ministers before 1815: Ann and John Simson in 1808, Gulielma Widdifield in 1808, Nathan Hunt in 1811, and Jonathan Taylor in 1811. Adolphustown received slightly more, perhaps because travel to Adolphustown was easier.

In the second-generation community, Friends were able to rebound quickly and soon had a thriving community again. The strategies they had employed in the first generation served them well. Kinship, informal education and the Discipline provided the support system for a purposeful fellowship of Friends. The stability and permanence of the settlements is indicated by the construction of Quaker schoolhouses between 1816 and 1820 and the increase in ministerial trips from Yonge Street to other meetings. Although the area was still rough and wild well into the 1820s, Yonge Street Friends emerged from their early frontier experiences prepared to assume responsibility for their part in sustaining the local and extended Society of Friends.

The settlements grew and Yonge Street remained consistently the largest of the Upper Canadian meetings. Fertile farmland and a vigourous Quaker community were distinct pull factors in the migration of Friends to the area. The difference in the second generation was that the origin of the immigrants was more diverse and this added to the plurality of the local faith community. The addition of some unrelated Friends was a bonus to Quakers who came of age in the second generation and were looking for mates in a community bound by a rigid insistence on endogamy and strict rules on consanguinity. By the late 1820s most of the local community was related in some way to the other families of the meeting. While this provided stability, it seriously limited potential partners. At a distance both spatially and generationally from the American meetings from which they had come, Yonge Street Friends began to look to their geographic community for spouses.[8] Mostly they married disowned Friends. They also married non-Quakers who were well-known to them; these connections tied them to a larger geographic and faith community in Upper Canada. Some of these Friends "acknowledged" their transgression of the Discipline and were retained as members. Many of them were disowned but continued to attend Quaker worship meetings. The increase in marriages "out" was not only a problem for Yonge Street Friends. By the time the community was in its third generation, marriages to non-Quakers were common enough that the Discipline had to be changed to accommodate the reality.

The success of the Yonge Street meeting and the concern over the local Davidite schism in 1812 resulted in a significant increase in the number of travelling ministers coming into the community after 1815. These ministers, who were usually the most charismatic and spiritually authoritative Friends in the Society, carried with them the external squabbles of the North American yearly meetings. Quakers in the transatlantic world could not stave off the impact of revivalism and other social changes occurring in the nineteenth century. Doctrine specific to Christian evangelicalism began to challenge the primacy of the Inner Light, one of the few doctrines Friends had traditionally espoused. When the quarrels of the yearly meetings infiltrated local meetings, the extended faith community was split into factions which used the strategies of community-building to tear the fellowship of Friends apart. The destructiveness of this schism was based in its deeply personal nature. It cut to the heart of Quaker identity and what it meant to be a Friend. This was a separation based on competing interpretations of the ancient professions of Quakerism. With the North American Society of Friends split apart by 1828, and each faction claiming to be the true Quakers, definitions of Quakerism became diverse. They would become more diverse as the Society experienced more schisms throughout the nineteenth century.

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[8] Those who travelled to the United States in the first generation to find spouses usually returned to their meeting of origin. Yonge Street Quakers who came of age in the late 1820s and early 1830s were

But in 1828, Yonge Street, unlike the other meetings, was split into three factions, not two. The Hicksites, Orthodox and Children of Peace each used informal education and socialisation to keep their version of the faith alive. Even as they were integrated into mainstream society, the distinct traditions of Quakerism were too firmly entrenched in the local community to be eradicated by attendance at local schools or through regular interactions with non-Quakers. Despite differences in doctrine, the principles of Quakerism, especially the equality of all believers, remained a defining feature of all three factions. Therefore, on issues of social and political reform, Quakers were able to overcome their doctrinal differences and work together for common social concerns.[9] Quakers also shared social concerns with other Upper Canadians who were not Friends.

The fragmenting of the Yonge Street Quaker community in the second generation and the increased desire of Orthodox Friends, particularly, to 'get along' with those

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completely removed from their parents' meeting(s) of origin by twenty or thirty years.

[9] This was the case in temperance work, prison reform and women's rights.

outside the Society, pushed Friends to work with their non-Quaker neighbours to address issues of common interest. Moreover, young Quakers who came of age in the second generation were more connected to their local geographic community than their parents had been. Their frustration in acquiring land because of inefficient colonial land policies united them with their neighbours who could not acquire land either. Those who advocated political reform, Quaker and non-Quaker, were equally critical of what they viewed as a corrupt colonial executive. The involvement of Friends in the Rebellion was a desperate effort at political change and attests to their transforming identity. No longer was identity as a Quaker exclusive from identity as an Upper Canadian. The Rebellion marks the end of the second generation and the movement towards increased integration into mainstream society. This integration brought greater interactions, marriages, and even religious affiliations with those who had similar doctrinal beliefs. By the 1840s and 1850s, disowned Quakers were comfortable attending, marrying into, or even seeking membership in the Methodist church, because their belief structures were akin to one another.[10]

The affiliation of Friends with other evangelical Upper Canadians in the third generation meant that Quakers would become one more element in the Protestant consensus that dominated Ontario by the end of the century.[11] Moreover, they were certainly important beyond their numbers in what John Webster Grant has termed the "activist temper" that accompanied the Protestant consensus. This activist temper

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[10] Arthur G. Dorland, "West Lake Quarterly Meeting, Reminiscences," unpublished paper in possession of Jane Zavitz-Bond, 5. Both groups made extensive use of travelling ministers and strict church discipline regarding amusements, simplicity in dress, and marrying out. Both also placed emphasis on the personal nature of faith. When orthodoxy increased in the Society of Friends, evangelical Quakers shared points of doctrine with the Methodists. Where the groups disagreed was on the sacraments of baptism and communion. The Methodists practiced them; Quakers did not.

stemmed from religious activity and was expressed in the creation of numerous voluntary organisations that advanced specific interests or provided assistance to particular segments of the population. The involvement of Friends in these movements was an extension of the practical application of their faith and the principles of peace, equality and simplicity.

Notions of reform did not arise as a result of integration into mainstream society. The Quakers had long advocated temperance and the abolition of slavery. For instance, Yonge Street Friends sent a request to the half-year's and yearly meetings in 1810 asking that the Discipline be revised "as far as related to spirituous liquors."[12] Yonge Street meeting was not the only meeting to send such a request. Its petition along with others resulted in a change to the 1810 Discipline cautioning against "the importing, distilling or vending of ardent spirits or selling grain or produce for the purpose of distillation."[13] The fourth query was also changed to ask whether Friends avoided "the unnecessary use of spirituous liquors."[14] In 1832 the word "unnecessary" was removed and the consumption of alcohol for anything but "medicinal uses" was forbidden. Debate over the abolition of slavery had been a long drawn-out affair which began with the arrival of Quakerism in North America. It was not until 1810 that the New York Yearly Meeting finally agreed that holding others in slavery was a disownable offence.[15] Because there was no slavery in Upper Canada in 1810, the issue lay dormant for years. By the 1850s,

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[11] John Webster Grant, *A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 204.

[12] The minute that was sent to both superior meetings from Yonge Street was endorsed by both the men's and women's meeting. It was based on "a living concern" that had arisen in the meeting "for the support and increase of our Testamony [sic] against the use of spirituous liquors, those distilled from grain in particular, seeing they are an evil from which many doth arise…." Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, MS 303, Reel 59, C397A, 12-07-1810.

[13] *Discipline of the New York Yearly Meeting, 1810*, 51.

[14] Ibid., 35.

Upper Canadian Quakers, sensitive to the activities of Friends in the United States, had established their own abolition movement. They also helped to create the Underground Railroad which assisted fugitive slaves in escaping from the United States to Upper Canada. Friends also provided financial assistance for former slaves once they were in British North America.[16] The success of the Underground Railroad was dependent on the support of Canadian Quakers who assisted runaway slaves in establishing themselves in a new land. When John Joseph Gurney visited Upper Canada in 1839, he was informed that about one-hundred slaves made their way across the border each month. The numbers increased after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850 when it is estimated that between 23, 000 and 30, 000 fugitive slaves came to Canada before the American Civil War.[17]

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[15] Ibid., 50.

[16] Arthur G. Dorland, *Quakers in Canada: A History* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1968), 290-9. Two of the most prominent abolitionists and active supporters of the Underground Railroad, Elizabeth Comstock and Laura Smith Haviland, had both spent a number of years in Canada. Comstock had immigrated from England to Belleville in 1850, where she operated a store before remarrying and moving to Michigan in 1858. Haviland was born and lived for seven years in Upper Canada before moving with her parents to New York State in 1815. Although this hardly qualifies them as "Canadian" Quakers, their activity in the Underground Railroad included connections with the Canadian meetings.
Haviland was an example of a Friend who changed her religious stripes in accordance with her needs. She was a strong Quaker but also a strong abolitionist. She had begun the first anti-slavery society in Michigan in 1832 and in 1837 she an her husband opened a multi-racial school. The official stance of the meeting to which Haviland belonged was against active participation in abolition organisations. As a result, Haviland, her husband, and fourteen other Friends withdrew their membership from the Society and joined the Wesleyan Methodist Church. This denomination, which had separated from the Methodist Episcopal Church, was composed chiefly of abolitionists. Haviland chose a church that most closely expressed her own interpretation of how her faith operated in her daily life. Yet, although she was not a recorded member, she remained a Quaker at heart. She retained close ties with the faith community. Levi Coffin and Elizabeth Comstock, some of her closest companions in the abolition movement, were prominent Friends. Moreover, after the Civil War she again became a member of the meeting she had chosen to leave. Haviland retained close connections with the Canadian meetings. In the early 1850s, she established a Christian Union church for blacks in the Puce River area of Canada West. Louisa M. Kaufman, "'A Woman's Life Work': Laura Smith Haviland and the Underground Railroad," *The Canadian Quaker History Journal* 64(1999): 21-8

[17] This figure applies to Upper Canada / Canada West only. Adrienne Shadd, "'The Lord seemed to say "Go"': Women and the Underground Railroad Movement," in Peggy Bristow et. al. eds., *"We're Rooted Here and They Can't Pull Us Up: Essays in African Canadian Women's History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 63-4.

In order to understand the influence of Friends on these movements, we need to re-examine reform in two ways. First, we must explore the role of local reform movements designed to address, ameliorate, and shape the local community. I would suggest that this is where the largest proportion of Quaker activism occurred, especially for women. Provincial or national suffrage associations are certainly striking examples of attempts at political and social reform. But Quakers were usually more concerned with local issues such as temperance or abolition which affected their local community than they were with large sweeping issues like "women's rights."[18] As far as Quakers were concerned, women had rights. Among the Methodists or Baptists, for example, women were believed to be morally superior and this ideology, labelled the "cult of true womanhood" justified their movement into the public sphere through church-related reform movements.[19] Quaker women, though, had a long tradition of public ministry that was not questioned by Quaker men. As women Friends pushed further into mainstream society and collided with Victorian notions of true womanhood, they were pressed to justify their behaviour. It was at this point that they became more involved in movements for women's rights, not on the basis of moral superiority, but rather the equality between women and men.

Second, we now need to re-examine the reform movements and look carefully for the influence Quakers had on the Methodists and the other evangelical denominations. It has been established that Methodism had a significant impact on the Society of Friends in Old Ontario.[20] Knowing that most of those who left the Society of Friends, for one reason or another, became Methodists, we need to be conscious of the influences that the groups had on each other. Membership lists of reform associations and accompanying denominational affiliations cannot tell the whole story of activism. Quaker identity, as well as that of other Upper Canadians, had become accommodative. Quakers who became Methodists in the 1860s and 1870s carried with them their socialisation in the Quaker faith. Although Quaker identity had changed significantly, these "Quakers" kept the principles of their faith and applied them to their involvement as full participants in their local communities and in Canadian society.

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[18] The involvement of American Quaker women in the abolition movement that led to the women's suffrage movement also began in concerns for the black populations, either slave or fugitive, in local communities.

[19] See Christopher Headon, "Women and Organized Religion in Mid and Late Nineteenth Century Canada," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 20, ½(1978): 3-18; Linda Kealey, ed., *A Not Unreasonable Claim*; and, Wendy Mitchinson, "Canadian Women and Church Missionary Societies in the Nineteenth Century: A Step Towards Independence," *Atlantis* 2, 2(1977): 57-75. In the American context, see Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (1977 rpt; New York: Anchor Press, 1988) and

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Ann Firor Scott, *Making the Invisible Woman Visible* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984).

[20] Dorland, *The Quakers in Canada*, 132-3. The impact of integration on Orthodox Friends is shown in the diary of William Allen, pastor of Newmarket Friends Church. Allen, a freed slave, had originally been ordained as an elder and then a minister in the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Indiana. He became a Quaker in 1874 because of his concern over what he saw as the over-zealous consumption of communion wine. Allen travelled extensively throughout the United States and Canada from the 1870s until his death in 1898. As a recognised Quaker minister, he worked in partnership with both the Methodists and the Salvation Army. He also held meetings with "other" Friends, as he called those who were not Orthodox. Unlike leaders in the other denominations, Allen valued the public ministry of Quaker women, commenting specifically on the contributions of Alma Gould Dale, with whom he journeyed on one ministerial trip. Dale was the minister of the Uxbridge Meeting and , in 1898, went on to found the first Quaker meeting in western Canada at Chain Lakes, Manitoba. Dale was also instrumental in establishing a branch of the Women's Christian Temperance Union in Hartney, Manitoba where she lived while she pastored at Chain Lakes.

From Allen's diary it is apparent that Orthodox Quaker meetings had changed considerably by the 1880s and were similar in style to other revivalist services of the period. Allen consistently recorded "conversions" and meetings "which nearly every soul in the house even melted into tears." He also regularly spoke about the power of the "Holy Gost [sic]" in his services. There would have been little to distinguish these meetings from those officiated over by Methodists, whom Allen considered his partners in winning souls for God. Allen's diary also reveals that Quakers, like other Protestant denominations in the latter half of the nineteenth century, battled the world of leisure in claiming the time and hearts of their young members and adherents. Allen decried the use of the church for "oyster suppers & neck tie socials and garden parties." For men like Allen, who was an evangelist, the only social reform that was necessary was the conversion of lost souls. Nothing else was important. Yet, not all Quakers were evangelists in the Allen mode. See, *A Memorial Concerning William Allen, An Esteemed Minister of Yonge Street Monthly Meeting of Friends*, CYM Archives; "William Allen's Memorandum Book, 1887-1891," *The Canadian Quaker History Journal* 64, (1999): 54-73; Sandra Fuller, "Alma Gould Dale (1854-1930)—Quaker Minister," *Canadian Quaker History Journal* (Summer 1990): 16-8; Jane Zavitz-Bond, "William Allen: Friends Minster and Evangelist," *The Canadian Quaker History Journal* 64, (1999): 51-54.

Yet, the problem with reform "associations" for Friends in the nineteenth century was their concern that involvement in mixed reform groups would break down their distinct identity and lead to certain ruin.[21] Although small groups of Friends continued to advocate that they remain insulated from the larger community, the fragmentation of Upper Canadian Friends was a catalyst to their affiliation with other reformers and their integration into mainstream society. As each successive generation moved further away from peculiarity, it became increasingly difficult to differentiate them from non-Quakers. This was especially so among the Orthodox Friends. In 1881 a separation in the Canadian Yearly Meeting divided Orthodox Friends into Conservative (or Wilburite) and Orthodox (or Gurneyite) Friends.[22] The Orthodox Friends were the most evangelical of all the factions. They had programmed worship services into which they incorporated music and a pastor, although unpaid, who was responsible for regular sermons. They even began to call themselves a "church." Yet they retained the basic Quaker testimonies and commitment to their principles.

Primary among those convictions for the Orthodox as well as other groups of Quakers were the commitments to equality and peace which played a role in the involvement of Friends in mixed reform movements. The traditions of Quakerism would especially have an impact on women's approaches to social reform. Quaker involvement in the American reform movements of abolition, temperance and women's rights, especially, has been well-documented.[23] Little has been concluded about the impact of Quakers in the mixed Canadian reform movements.[24] Part of this is certainly due to the absence of a large-scale abolition movement which was such a large part of Quaker reform activity in the United States and led directly into the suffrage movement. There is also the reality that the Quaker community in Canada was much smaller than its American counterpart. Yet, the continued connection of Canadian Friends to their superior American meetings hints that attitudes to reform did not stop at the Canadian-American border.[25] Changes to the Discipline, mentioned previously, indicate that temperance was an important issue in Canadian meetings right up to the end of the century. By 1877, Friends were supporting prohibition. According to the minutes of the

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[21] It was the very debates about involvement in mainstream reform movements that led to further separations among Quakers in the United States. Strong abolitonist Quakers in the Indiana Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) separated to form the Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends. The Hicksites in New York, Ohio, Indiana, and Pennsylvania also split into the Hicksite and Congregational or Progressive Friends who supported abolition. The irony is that, while these two groups shared similar principles about slavery, the Congregational Friends were religious liberals who rejected all religious conformity as long as the testimonies of anti-slavery, peace and equality were upheld. The Anti-Slavery Friends, on the other hand, were more evangelical than the Orthodox meeting from which they separated. Christopher Densmore, "The Fragmentation of North American Friends: Or, What J.J. Gurney Did When He Was Not at Home," *Canadian Quaker History Journal* 62(1997): 10.

[22] The Wilburites took their name from John Wilbur who first opposed the ultra-evangelical teachings of John Joseph Gurney. Unlike the Hicksite-Orthodox separation the Wilburite schisms took place over a long period of time. The New England Yearly Meeting split in 1845, the Ohio YM in 1854, the Indiana

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and Iowa YMs in 1877, the Kansas YM in 1879, the Canada YM in 1881, and the North Carolina YM in 1903.

[23] See, for instance, Margaret Hope Bacon, *Mothers of Feminism: The Story of Quaker Women in America* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1986); Nancy A. Hewitt, *Women's Activism and Social Change: Rochester, New York, 1822-1872* ((Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1984); Lucille Salitan and Eve Lewis Perera, eds., *Virtuous Lives: Four Quaker Sisters Remember Family Life, Abolitionism, and Women's Suffrage* (New York: Continuum, 1994); Peggy Brase Seigel, "Moral Champions and Public Pathfinders: Antebellum Quaker Women in Eastcentral Indiana," *Quaker History* 81, 2(1992): 87-106; and, Carole D. Spencer, "Evangelism, Feminism and Social Reform: The Quaker Woman Minister and the Holiness Revival," *Quaker History* 80, 1(1991); 24-48.

[24] There has been an effort in Canadian women's history to parallel studies in American women's history. Membership lists of suffrage organisations have been combed to determine the level of Quaker involvement. The conclusion is that, unlike the American situation, Quaker participation in the upper echelons of the suffrage movement is low. See Carol Bacchi, "Divided Allegiances: The Response of Farm and Labour Women to the Suffrage," in Linda Kealey, ed., *A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada, 1880-1920* (Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1979), 89-107. Cecilia Morgan is one of the few historians to examine Quaker women as a group in Canada and their possible connection to reform movements. She also notes that, in comparison to the clear link between women's rights and Quakers in the United States, there is "no equivalent Quaker female voice in the public realm." Cecilia Morgan, "Gender, Religion, and Rural Society: Quaker Women in Norwich, Ontario, 1820-1880," *Ontario History* 82, 4(1990): 285.

[25] The Orthodox Quakers in Upper Canada remained part of the New York Yearly Meeting until 1867, when they were granted yearly meeting status in their own right. However, they maintained communication with the American yearly meetings as well as the London Yearly Meeting. Hicksite Friends remained part of the Genesee Yearly Meeting until 1955 when the Orthodox and Hicksite Friends

Canadian Yearly Meeting, after 1880 both the Hicksites and the Orthodox carefully monitored the progression of temperance legislation in Canada.

In areas of reform for women's rights, Canadian Quaker women also played a role although, again, the examples pale in comparison to the American situation. Emily Jennings Howard Stowe who was raised in the Norwich Quaker community became one of the first female doctors in Canada. She pressed to break down the barriers that blocked women from studying medicine; she was also a pioneer in the struggle for women's rights. Because she was a woman, Stowe was refused admission to the medical school at the University of Toronto. She obtained her degree in New York in 1867 and returned to Toronto where she had a private practice.[26] Provincial licensing requirements, which refused to recognise out-of-province schooling, delayed Stowe from being recognised as a licensed practitioner for thirteen years. Not deterred, she practised medicine without the license.

In 1876, Stowe became the leader of the Toronto Women's Literary Club, a group that, despite its name, sought to advance women's status by acquiring the vote for women. In 1889 Stowe organised the Dominion Women's Enfranchisement League and would remain the president and driving force behind the movement until her death in 1903.[27] Stowe had become frustrated with the inactivity of the Canadian Women's Suffrage Association, which, according to Stowe, was due to the presence of men. Stowe commented that: "We admitted the opposite sex as members and the effect was

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in both New York and Canada reunited. In Canada Hicksite and Orthodox Friends became members of the Canadian Yearly Meeting.

[26] Before attending medical school, Stowe had been a teacher. After receiving a first-class certificate from Normal School in Toronto she became the principal of Brantford Elementary School. She was the first principal of a public school in Ontario. Veronica Strong-Boag, "Canada's Women Doctors: Feminism Constrained," in Kealey, ed., *A Not Unreasonable Claim*, 109-30; Thompson, "The Influence of Dr. Emily Howard Stowe on the Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada."

demoralising. The old idea of female dependence crept in and the ladies began to rely on the gentlemen rather than upon their own efforts."[28] Stowe's complaints reveal the frustration of a woman socialised in the independent women's meetings of the Quaker community. Stowe also did not work alone. While she was involved in structured suffrage associations, the Canada Half Yearly Meeting of Hicksite Friends drew up the first petition presented to the Government of Canada in 1887 requesting that the franchise be extended to women.[29]

To determine the full extent of Quaker impact in the reform movement in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Canada, careful work still needs to be done.[30] This is beyond the scope of this dissertation. It has been shown here that when Yonge Street Friends arrived in Upper Canada around 1800, the first-generation community was an insulated enclave of peculiar people. As a result of religious division in the second generation, this distinctiveness began to erode and attempts to maintain their separateness broke down. By the 1830s, Quakers began to be integrated into mainstream Upper Canadian society and were becoming involved in larger provincial issues culminating in the participation of some Quakers in the abortive Rebellion of 1837. By the middle of the nineteenth century, in the third generation of the community, Friends were very comfortable in a number of denominational circles. They worked particularly closely with the Methodists and moved freely between the two 'churches.' Membership in the

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[27] Dorland, *The Quakers in Canada*, 310.
[28] Quoted in Thompson, "The Influence of Dr. Emily Howard Stowe on the Woman Suffrage Movement," 259.
[29] Ibid., 311.
[30] Canadian Quakers have continued to be active in twentieth-century reform movements. Quakers pushed for the abolition of corporal punishment, prison reform, and the removal of militarist images from Ontario schoolbooks. After World War one, they argued that cadet training was antagonistic to the reconstruction of the post-war world; they advocated instead for physical education activities as an alternative. Joyce McMullen, "Quakers left influence on District," *Tillsonburg News* (November 9, 1984): 9.

Society itself was no longer as crucial as it had been in the frontier period, since the faith community had expanded to include the geographic community. Moreover, even though they were integrated into a larger faith community and may have been satisfied to forego recorded membership, Friends from the third-generation community retained the principles central to Quakerism and, by keeping their faith they remained as part of the larger transatlantic community of Friends. Yet they also began to influence the community around them.

By mid-century the Yonge Street Quakers were no longer a separate, insulated group who happened to live in Upper Canada. Yonge Street Friends became Upper Canadians who happened to be Quakers. Faith was still a primary aspect of their identity, as it was for other Upper Canadians of the time. But the faith itself was no longer exclusive. Quakers continued to embrace their unique testimonies, but they did so from the perspective of a group that had become intricately related to the larger society in which they lived. God's peculiar people were peculiar no more. They no longer worked from the periphery but from within. It was through their integration into the mainstream that, though small in number, Quakers were able to accomplish much in the area of social reform. They were, in the words of one of their favourite biblical sayings: "a little leaven [which] leaveneth much."[31]

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[31] I Corinthians 5:6.

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APPENDIX ONE
THE QUERIES

Because the New England Yearly Meeting was the first yearly meeting in the North American colonies, the most complete set of queries is that located in the *New England Advices Digest, 1780.*[1] By examining the evolution of these queries, or as they were originally called questions, the changing concerns of the Society of Friends are evident. The queries of the other yearly meetings in the North American colonies were very similar to those of the New England Yearly Meeting, in content and wording.[2] Although the composition and intent of the queries remained similar for many years, the queries, like the Discipline, were revised when necessary. The changes introduced to the queries and the Discipline were usually a response to a particular situation or circumstance, or they reflected a change in the Society's views on an issue. For instance, the payment of duties to the King in the eighth query of the 1762 Discipline was removed at the end of the American Revolution. Revisions to the queries that reflect a changed viewpoint on the part of the Society can be seen in the queries of the New York Yearly Meeting Discipline from 1810 to 1859. The 1810 query on the use of spirituous liquors and the "frequenting" of taverns 1810 read: "Do Friends avoid the unnecessary use of spirituous liquors, frequenting tavern, and attending places of diversion?" In 1836 it was revised to: "Do Friends avoid the use of distilled spirituous liquors, excepting for purposes strictly medicinal; and are they clear of frequenting taverns, and attending places of diversion?"[3] Moreover, the query on marriage which asked, "Do any keep company with persons not of our society on account of marriage; do parents connive at their children's keeping company with such; and do any attend the marriages of those who go out from us, or marriages accomplished by a priest?" was completely removed by 1859.[4]

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[1] *New England Advices Digest, 1780.* CYM Archives. The Canadian Yearly Meeting Archives houses the most complete set of Discplines in the world.

[2] The exception is that the queries of the New York Discipline omitted the query on slavery.

[3] *Discipline of the Yearly Meeting of Friends held in New York, 1810* , 34; *Discipline of the Yearly Meeting of Friends held in New York, 1836*, 33. CYM Archives.

Extracts of the Queries from the Digest of the New England Yearly Meeting

1682

1. What Friends in the ministry in their respective counties departed this life since the last Yearly Meeting?
2. What Friends imprisoned for their Testimony, have died since last Yearly Meeting?
3. How the Truth has prospered amongst them since the last Yearly Meeting and how Friends are in Peace and Unity?

1696

1. What Sufferings?
2. What present prisoners?
3. How many discharged & when?
4. How many Died Prisoners & the time when?
5. How many Publick Friends died and when?
6. How many Meeting Houses built & what meetings added in each County since last year?
7. What signal judgements have come upon Persecutors?
8. How Truth Prospers, and Friends are in Unity in the Respective Counties?

1700

Added to the Eighth Query viz. How have the former advices of this meeting, relating to their Godly Care for the good Education of their Children in the way of Truth and plainness of Speech and Habit, been practiced?

1742

The Committee appointed to consider the Queries, instead of the Former Queries have drawn up the following: Which were here several times read, duly considered, and agreed to. And 'tis agreed by this meeting, that the Several counties send up their answers to the said Queries to this meeting Separate from their accounts of Sufferings, which for the future are aggreed [sic] to be taken immediately after the accounts of Sufferings are Entered.

1. What present Prisoners?
2. How many discharged since last year, when & how?

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3. How many Died Prisoners?
4. How many Meeting Houses Built and what meetings New Settled?
5. How many publick Friends died & when?
6. What is the state of your meetings? Is there any Growth in the Truth? And doth any convincement appear since last year? And is Love & Unity preserved amongst you?
7. Is it your Care by Example and Precept to Train up your Children in all Godly Conversation and in the frequent Reading the Holy Scriptures as also in plainness of Speech, Behaviour & Apparel?
8. Do you bear a faithful and Christian Testimony against he Receiving or paying Tithes? And against bearing of Arms? And do you admonish Such as are unfaithful therein?
9. Do you stand clear in our Testimony against Defrauding the King of his Customs, Duties, or Excise, or in Dealing in Goods Suspected to be Run?
10. How are the Poor among you provided for? And what care is taken for the Education of their offspring?
11. Do you keep Record in your Monthly & Quarterly Meetings of the prosecutions and sufferings of your respective Members? And have you a Record for your Meeting Houses & Burial Grounds?

1760

At the Yearly Meeting held in Newport on Rhode Island, it was agreed and concluded that the following Queries should be here added and all the former Queries form London to the year 1742 be omitted in transcribing and these only to be in use among us.

1. Are all meetings for Religious Worship and Discipline duly attended, the Hour Observed, and are Friends preserved from Sleeping or any other Indecent behaviour therein particularly chewing Tobacco or taking snuff?
2. Is Love & Unity maintained among you as becomes Brethren, and are Talebearing, Backbiting and Evil Reports discouraged & where differences arise are Endeavours Speedily used to End them?
3. Are Parents of Children careful to bring them up in plainness of Speech, Behaviour and Apparel, and in the frequent Reading the holy Scriptures, to Restrain them from Reading pernicious Books and the Corrupt Conversation of the World?
4. Are Friends careful to avoid the frequent use of Spiritous Liquors, the unneccesary frequenting of Taverns and places of Publick Resort, and in all their conversation walk as becomes the professors of the Blessed Truth, in true moderation and Temperance on the account of Births, Marriages, Burials and all other Occasions?
5. Are poor Friends Necessities duly inspected they Relieved or assisted in such Business as they are capable of, do their children freely partake of Learning to fit them for Business, & are they & other Friends Children placed among Friends?
6. Do no young or unmarried persons make proposals of marriage with each other without consent of Parents & Relations concerned not keep company with those of other Societies on that account?
7. Do no Widowers or Widows make or admit of proposals of Marriage too Early after the Decease of former Husband or Wife, and are not the Rights of Children by former marriages neglected?

8. Do you maintain faithful Testimony against he Payment of Priests' Wages, Bearing of Arms, Training or Military Service, and against Depriving the King of his Duties, or Buying or Vending of Goods Suspected to be Run?
9. Are Friends Careful to make their wills and settle their outward Estates whilst in Health, and take Friends advice therein when Necessary, and are Publick Gifts & Legacies applied to the uses intended by the Donors?
10. Are Friends clear of importing Negroes, or buying them when imported, and use those well where they are possessed by inheritance or otherwise, Endeavouring to Train them up in the Principles of Religion?
11. Are Friends Careful to live within the bounds of their circumstances and to avoid Launching into Trade and Business beyond their ability to manage and thereby break their promises and Neglect the payment of their just Debts and are such as give Reasonable Ground of Fear on these accounts Laboured with for their Recovery?
12. Are there any belonging to this meeting removed without a certificate, Or are there any come from other places appearing as Friends who have not produced certificates?
13. Are you concerned Regularly to deal with all Offenders in the Spirit of Meekness and Wisdom, without partiality or unnecessary delay, and where any continue obstinate to place Judgement upon them in the authority of Truth?

And it is further Recommended, That all Contention & Personal Reflection, and Smiting be kept out of our Meetings, That all Friends be careful to keep out of the Heats and Passions & Doubtful disputations and that we suffer no Turbulent, contentious persons amongst us in ordering or managing the affairs of Truth, but that the same be managed in the peaceable Spirit and Wisdom of Jesus with Decency, Forbearance, and Love to each other.

APPENDIX TWO

THE QUAKER MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE[1]

William Doan of the Township of King, County of York and Province of Upper Canada, son of Ebenezer Doan and Ann his wife (the latter deceased) And Esther Bostwick Daughter of Jacob Winn and Phebe his wife, the former deceased, having laid their Intentions of Marriage with each other before two monthly meetings of the Religious Society of Friends held at Yonge Street in the Township Aforesaid; They having consent of surviving parents, and nothing appearing to obstruct: their proposals were allowed by the meeting. These are to certify, that for the accomplishment of their Intentions, this twenty first day of the seventh month in the year of our Lord one thousand Eight hundred and fourteen; they the said William Doan and Esther Bostwick, appeard [sic] at a public meeting of said Society held at Yonge Street aforesaid, And the said William Doan taking the said Esther Bostwick by the hand did on this solemn occation [sic] declare, that he took her to be his wife, promising through Divine assistance to be unto her a faithful and loving husband untill [sic] separated by death (or words to that Effect), and then in the same assembly, the said Esther Bostwick, did in like manner declare, that she took the said William Doan to be her husband, promising through Divine assistance to be unto him a faithful and loving wife untill separated by death (or words to that import), And they the said William Doan and Esther Bostwick, She according to the custom of marriage, assuming the name of her Husband, as a further confirmation thereof, did then and there to these presents set their hands.....William Doan, Esther Doan

And we being present have subscribed our names as witnesses thereof.

Joel Hughes
Isaac Penrose
Nathan Dennis
Sarah Dennis
Olive Rogers
Owen Phillips
Ann Burr
Nicholas Hughes
Westly Huntly
Rebecah Phillips
Thomas Sherwood
Elisabeth Dennis
Theodore
Sherwood
Phebe Winn
Mary Millard
Agnes Doan
John Winn
Thomas Linvill
Hannah Phillips

Cyrus Dennis
Henry Bonnel
Asa Rogers
Robert Penrose
Benjamin Webster
Joseph Penrose
Rufus Birchard
Wilson Dennis
Peter Eves
Harvey James
Isaac Lundy
Rowland Burr
John C. Heacock
John Burr
Isaac Phillips
Edith Phillips
Samuel E. Phillips
Mary Phillips
Phebe Winn
Jonathan Doan

Lucinda Cogsell
Ruth Winn
Jacob Winn
Joseph Doan
Seba Armitage
Seth Armitage
John Bostwick
Ebenezer Doan Jr.
Elwood Bostwick
James Doan
Martha Winn
Frederica Draper
Ebenezer Winn

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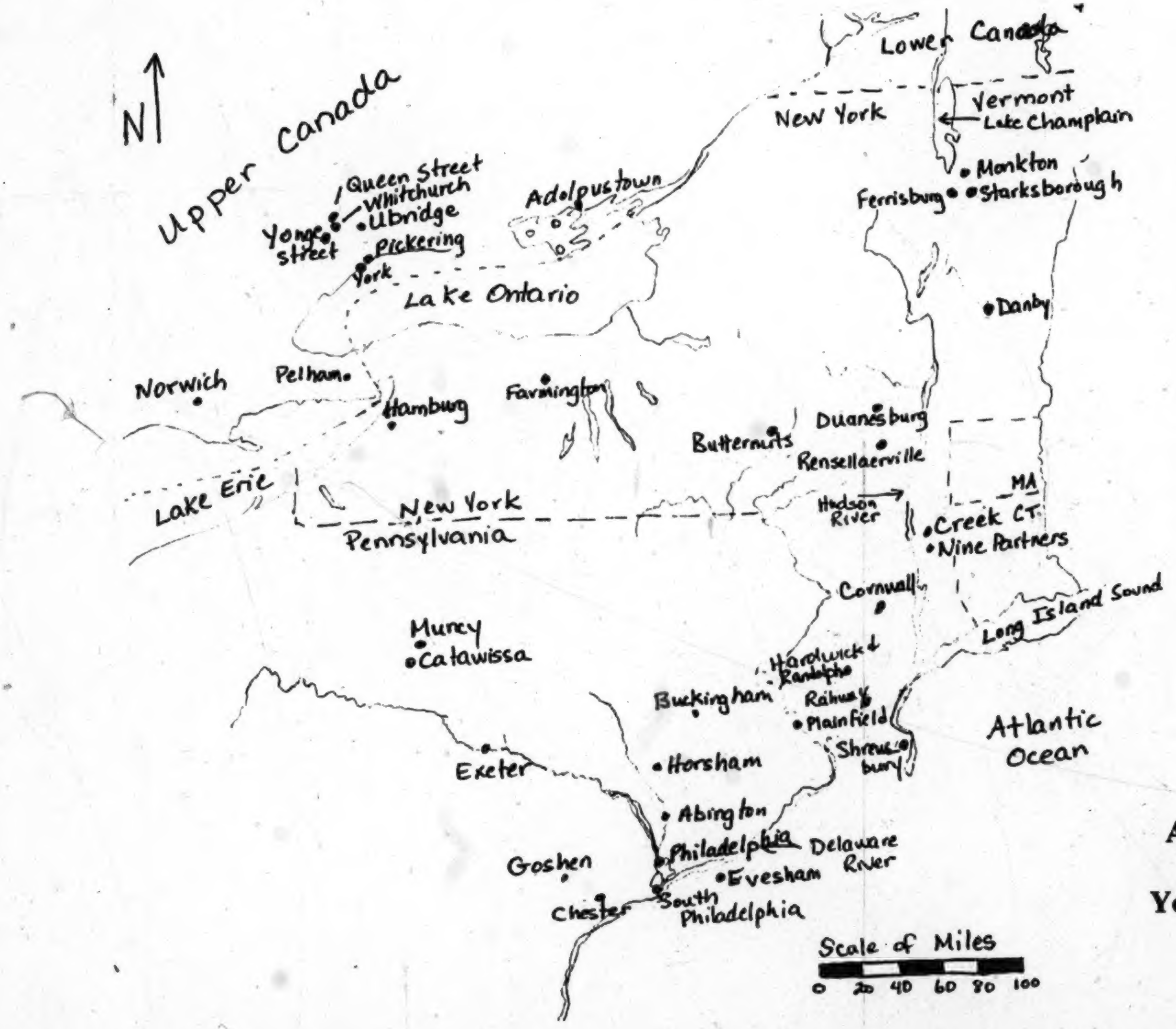
[1] This is an example of the standard Quaker marriage certificate. CYM Archives, Box 23 "Yonge Street," unmarked file. This was a second marriage for Esther Winn Bostwick. Her first husband Nathan Bostwick died in February 1813.


N
Upper Canada
Queen Street
Whitchurch
Yonge Street
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Pickering
York
Adolpustown
Lake Ontario
Lower Canada
New York
Vermont
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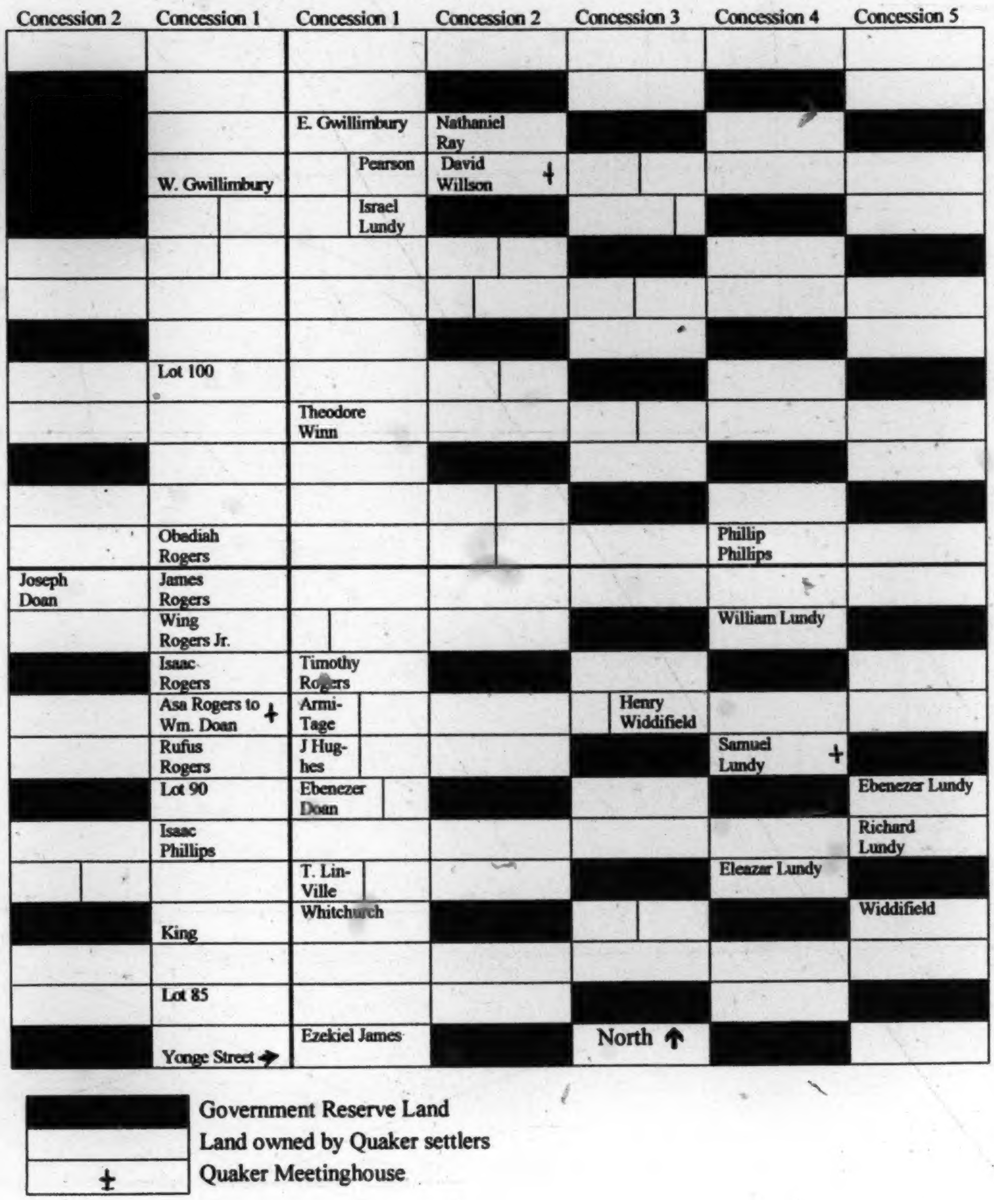
Monkton
Ferrisburg
Starksborough
Danby
Norwich
Pelham
Hamburg
Farmington
Duanesburg
Butternuts
Rensellaerville
Lake Erie
New York
Pennsylvania
Hudson River
MA
Creek CT
Nine Partners
Cornwall
Long Island Sound
Muncy
Catawissa
Hardwick &
Randolph
Buckingham
Rahway
Plainfield
Shrewsbury
Atlantic
Ocean
Exeter
Horsham
Abington
Philadelphia
Delaware
River
Goshen
Evesham
Chester
South
Philadelphia
Scale of Miles
0 20 40 60 80 100

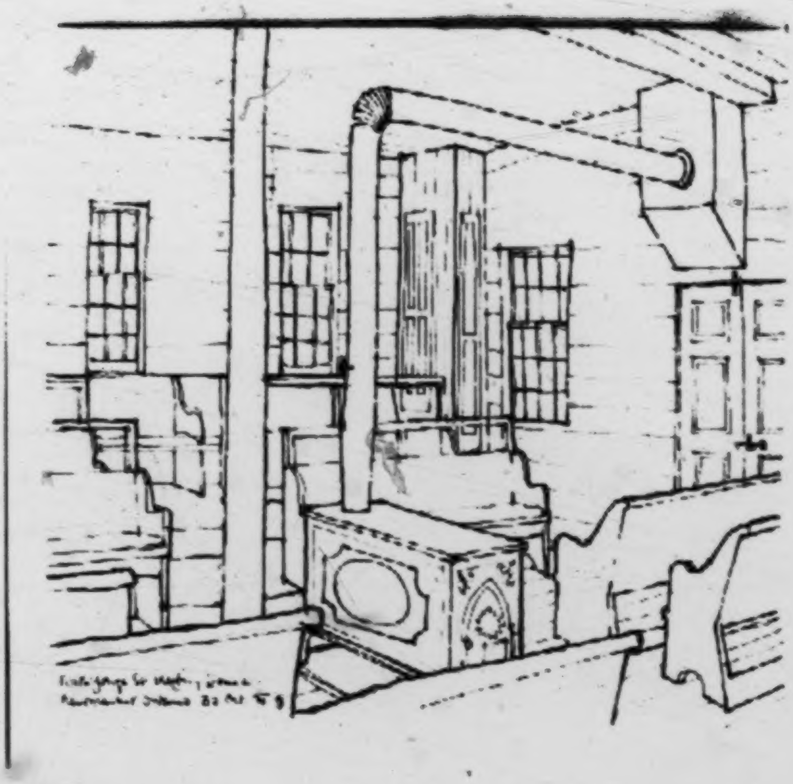
American Meetings of Origin of the Yonge Street Quakers

The Location of Some Yonge Street Friends, c. 1805-1816

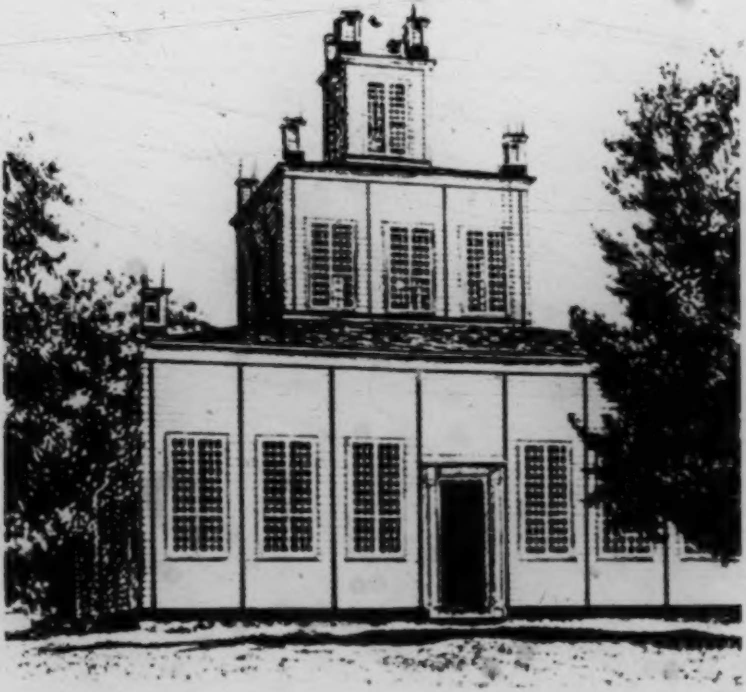

Concession 2
Concession 1
Concession 1
Concession 2
Concession 3
Concession 4
Concession 5
E. Gwillimbury
Nathaniel Ray
Pearson
David Willson
W. Gwillimbury
Israel Lundy
Lot 100
Theodore Winn
Obediah Rogers
Phillip Phillips
Joseph Doan
James Rogers
Wing Rogers Jr.
William Lundy
Isaac Rogers
Timothy Rogers
Asa Rogers to Wm. Doan
Armi-Tage
Henry Widdifield
Rufus Rogers
J Hug-hes
Samuel Lundy
Lot 90
Ebenezer Doan
Ebenezer Lundy
Isaac Phillips
Richard Lundy
T. Lin-Ville
Eleazar Lundy
Whitchurch
King
Widdifield
Lot 85
Ezekiel James
Yonge Street
North
Government Reserve Land
Land owned by Quaker settlers
Quaker Meetinghouse

Yonge St. Meeting House

Yonge Street Meetinghouse
Canada Yearly Meeting Archives (CYMA)

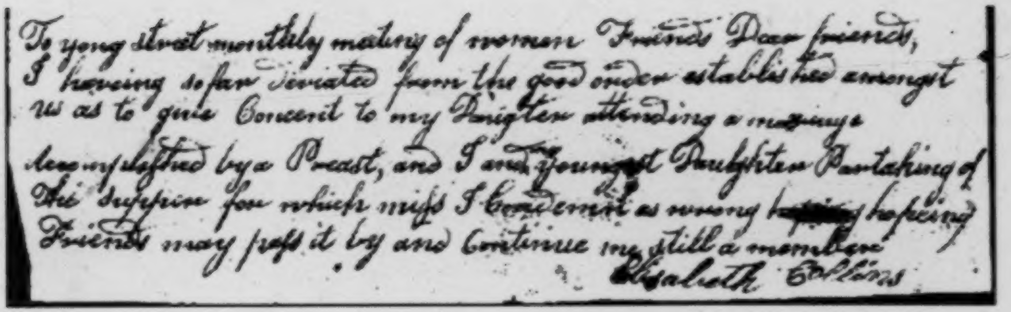


Interior of Yonge Street Meetinghouse (CYMA)



The Temple

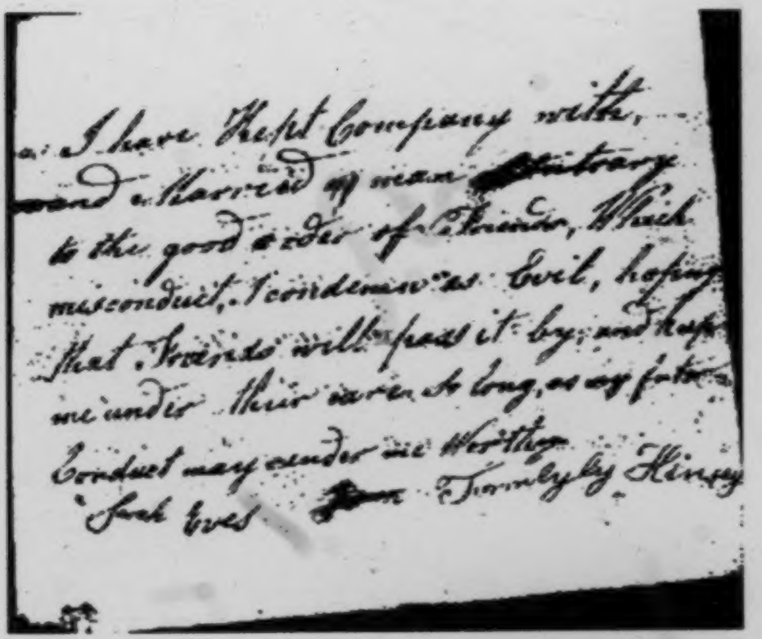
of the Children of Peace at Sharon (CYMA)



To yong street monthly meting of women Friends Dear friends,
I having so far deviated from the good order established amongst
us as to give Concent to my Daughter attending a marriage
accomplished by a Preast, and I and youngest Daughter Partaking of
the diversion for which miss I Condemn as wrong hoping
Friends may pass it by and Continue me still a member
Elizabeth Collins

Sample of Acknowledgements

for Marriages "Contrary to Order" Among Friends (CYMA)



I have kept Company with
and Married a man contrary
to the good order of Friends, Which
misconduct I condemn as Evil, hoping
that Friends will pass it by, and keep
me under their care so long as my future
Conduct may render me Worthy
Sarah Eves formerly Hinsey

The Armitage – Webb Family Women c. 1855 (CYMA)